

# EXHIBIT B.106

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

MARK I. SOKOLOW, et al.,  
Plaintiffs,

- vs - Case No.  
04-CV-397(GBD)(RLE)

PALESTINE LIBERATION  
ORGANIZATION, et al.,

Defendants.

DEPOSITION OF DR. LORI ALLEN  
Tuesday, November 19, 2013  
9:15 a.m.

Reported by:  
Fiona Farson  
Ref. No.: 10763

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Deposition of  
Dr. Lori Allen  
November 19, 2013  
9:15 a.m.

Held at:  
The offices of Arnold & Porter LLP  
International Financial Centre  
25 Old Broad Street  
London EC2N

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A P P E A R A N C E S

Appearing for the Plaintiffs:

Kent A. Yalowitz.  
Lucy McMillan  
ARNOLD & PORTER LLP  
399 Park Avenue  
New York, NY 10022-4690  
Tel: +1 212.715.1113  
Email: Kent.Yalowitz@aporter.com  
Lucy.McMillan@aporter.com

Appearing for the Defendants:

Brian A. Hill  
Michael J. Satin  
MILLER CHEVALIER CHARTERED  
655 Fifteenth Street, N.W.  
Suite 900  
Washington, D.C. 20005-5701  
Tel: 202-626-5800  
Email: bhill@milchev.com  
msatin@milchev.com

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I N D E X

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BY MR. YALOWITZ 5

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<p>1 DR. LORI ALLEN, sworn</p> <p>2 Examination by MR. YALOWITZ</p> <p>3 (9:15 a.m.)</p> <p>4 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>5 Q. Okay. So, Dr. Allen, we met before we went on the</p> <p>6 record, but again, I'll introduce myself; I'm Kent</p> <p>7 Yalowitz. I represent the plaintiffs in this case.</p> <p>8 And I was -- I was wondering where you grew up.</p> <p>9 A. I grew up in Kansas City, Missouri.</p> <p>10 Q. Uh-huh. And then you went to college at U Chicago?</p> <p>11 A. I went to college at the University of Chicago.</p> <p>12 Q. And graduated in '93?</p> <p>13 A. Correct.</p> <p>14 Q. Started at Chicago Graduate School in 1995; is that</p> <p>15 right?</p> <p>16 A. No, I went to Columbia for a year, Columbia University.</p> <p>17 Q. Uh-huh. And is that when you lived in Queens?</p> <p>18 A. No.</p> <p>19 Q. You lived in Morningside Heights?</p> <p>20 A. Yes.</p> <p>21 Q. Got it.</p> <p>22 Did you take a degree from Columbia?</p> <p>23 A. I did, a master's.</p> <p>24 Q. What did you study?</p> <p>25 A. Anthropology.</p>	<p>1 A. I went back to the University of Chicago, where I was</p> <p>2 working on my Ph.D. and was preparing for fieldwork, and</p> <p>3 then went to the West Bank.</p> <p>4 Q. You went to the West Bank in November of 2000?</p> <p>5 A. Mm-hmm.</p> <p>6 Q. You have to say "yes" or "no" --</p> <p>7 A. Yes.</p> <p>8 Q. -- for the court reporter.</p> <p>9 A. Yes.</p> <p>10 Q. And you stayed there until 2000, roughly -- I'm sorry,</p> <p>11 2002?</p> <p>12 A. No, I stayed there through February of 2003.</p> <p>13 Q. Uh-huh. How often did you travel back and forth to</p> <p>14 the US?</p> <p>15 A. To the US? Every once in a while. I left Israel every</p> <p>16 three months. Sometimes I would go to Europe, sometimes</p> <p>17 I would go back to the States.</p> <p>18 Q. Was that because of a visa requirement or something?</p> <p>19 A. Yes.</p> <p>20 Q. So then you completed your field work in -- you</p> <p>21 said February of '03?</p> <p>22 A. Correct.</p> <p>23 Q. And that's when you went to Queens?</p> <p>24 A. Yes.</p> <p>25 Q. What were you doing at Queens College?</p>
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<p>1 Q. And then -- you took your master's in '96?</p> <p>2 A. Well, I was awarded it in 1998, because of</p> <p>3 technicalities of when my professor signed off on</p> <p>4 things.</p> <p>5 Q. It seemed that you had something of a peripatetic</p> <p>6 academic career in the '90s I couldn't quite figure out.</p> <p>7 Maybe you could give me a chronology of where you went</p> <p>8 after Columbia.</p> <p>9 A. No, so it was undergraduate, then a year at Columbia,</p> <p>10 where I worked towards a master's. It was originally</p> <p>11 planned to be a Ph.D., but I changed and went to the</p> <p>12 University of Chicago directly after finishing a year at</p> <p>13 Columbia.</p> <p>14 Q. And you did an -- a summer program in Birzeit?</p> <p>15 A. Birzeit, yes.</p> <p>16 Q. When was that?</p> <p>17 A. I did a summer program -- I think that was in 1997.</p> <p>18 Q. And at some point you studied in Egypt as well?</p> <p>19 A. Correct.</p> <p>20 Q. When was that?</p> <p>21 A. That was 1999 to 2000.</p> <p>22 Q. And then did you go directly from Egypt to the West Bank</p> <p>23 in 2000?</p> <p>24 A. No.</p> <p>25 Q. Tell me about that time period.</p>	<p>1 A. I taught -- I substitute-taught a term, part of a class,</p> <p>2 at Queens College.</p> <p>3 Q. And you taught at NYU as well?</p> <p>4 A. Correct.</p> <p>5 Q. What kind of classes?</p> <p>6 A. The classes at NYU were introduction to anthropology for</p> <p>7 continuing education students; and at Queens, it was,</p> <p>8 I believe, Middle East anthropology.</p> <p>9 Q. I saw that from '03 to '04, you were a Woodrow Wilson</p> <p>10 Fellow.</p> <p>11 A. Mm-hmm.</p> <p>12 Q. What does that mean?</p> <p>13 A. It means that I received a fellowship to support me</p> <p>14 while I was writing up my dissertation.</p> <p>15 Q. So you didn't live in Princeton?</p> <p>16 A. No.</p> <p>17 Q. Did you go back to Chicago at that point?</p> <p>18 A. I'm not sure when or if I visited Chicago. I spent two</p> <p>19 years in New York, writing up my dissertation.</p> <p>20 Q. Got it. Got it.</p> <p>21 And then '04 to '05 as a Peace Scholar; was that</p> <p>22 similar to the Wilson Fellowship?</p> <p>23 A. Yes.</p> <p>24 Q. Got it.</p> <p>25 And then you received your -- your Ph.D. in '05?</p>

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<p>1 A. Correct.</p> <p>2 Q. So it's -- it's not that complicated, is it?</p> <p>3 A. No.</p> <p>4 Q. Just looked complicated from your CV.</p> <p>5 All right. Then you did post-doctoral work at</p> <p>6 Brown?</p> <p>7 A. Correct.</p> <p>8 Q. You lived in Providence?</p> <p>9 A. Yes.</p> <p>10 Q. And then -- you were also an instructor at Brown?</p> <p>11 A. I did teach a course there.</p> <p>12 Q. What did you teach?</p> <p>13 A. That was a -- what they called a Capstone Course, and it</p> <p>14 was again, broadly, anthropology of the Middle East.</p> <p>15 Q. Then '06 to '07, you did postdoctoral work at Harvard?</p> <p>16 A. Correct.</p> <p>17 Q. What -- both at Brown and at Harvard, were you writing?</p> <p>18 What were you doing that --</p> <p>19 A. I was --</p> <p>20 Q. What is the postdoctoral work?</p> <p>21 A. Right. So I was writing, and at Harvard I was</p> <p>22 conducting -- beginning to conduct research for my next</p> <p>23 project.</p> <p>24 Q. Which was what?</p> <p>25 A. It is on the history of investigative commissions to</p>	<p>1 dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.</p> <p>2 And the research that I'm doing will look at several</p> <p>3 commissions after that, trying to understand how</p> <p>4 Palestinians tried to present their political claims to</p> <p>5 these commissions differently over time. It's also an</p> <p>6 effort to understand how the commissions themselves were</p> <p>7 formed, and what they were trying to find out, and</p> <p>8 the -- the changes in that form of investigation over</p> <p>9 time.</p> <p>10 Q. That work is ongoing?</p> <p>11 A. Correct.</p> <p>12 Q. Then -- now tell me about the book that just came out.</p> <p>13 A. Mm-hmm. So this book was published with Stanford</p> <p>14 University Press; it's called "The Rise and Fall of</p> <p>15 Human Rights: Cynicism and Politics in Occupied</p> <p>16 Palestine." And it is broadly an anthropological study</p> <p>17 of Palestinian -- the Palestinian human rights world.</p> <p>18 It was an effort to understand how the human rights</p> <p>19 industry became part of Palestinian nationalist</p> <p>20 politics, as well as an effort to understand how</p> <p>21 different institutions within Palestine, within the</p> <p>22 Occupied Territory specifically, have tried to use human</p> <p>23 rights to gain credibility, as state-building</p> <p>24 institutions, and it is -- makes an argument that</p> <p>25 Palestinians generally have become very cynical towards</p>
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<p>1 Palestine over the last hundred years or so.</p> <p>2 Q. Is that the book that you just published, or is that --</p> <p>3 A. No.</p> <p>4 Q. -- a different -- that's a different project?</p> <p>5 A. That's a different project.</p> <p>6 Q. And then you moved to Cambridge in '07?</p> <p>7 A. Correct.</p> <p>8 Q. And you've been there since?</p> <p>9 A. With fellowships.</p> <p>10 Q. Where have your fellowships been?</p> <p>11 A. I had another year at Harvard, and I had a year off of</p> <p>12 teaching, and I was free to go and be wherever.</p> <p>13 Q. What did you do with that year?</p> <p>14 A. I spent part of that year traveling to libraries in the</p> <p>15 United States and visiting archives, and part of that</p> <p>16 year I was based in Beirut.</p> <p>17 Q. So just describe a little bit more the book that you</p> <p>18 just mentioned about the history of something over the</p> <p>19 last hundred years.</p> <p>20 A. So this is an investigation -- the -- it's a study of</p> <p>21 the history of investigative commissions to Palestine</p> <p>22 from the King-Crane Commission in 1919, which was</p> <p>23 dispatched by President Woodrow Wilson. He sent a bunch</p> <p>24 of American diplomats and scholars to find out what the</p> <p>25 Arabs wanted at the end of World War I with the</p>	<p>1 the human rights industry, which is distinct from human</p> <p>2 rights principles, which is a separate issue.</p> <p>3 Q. Mm-hmm. There was a word you used which I can't</p> <p>4 remember; it's like "storefront" or something?</p> <p>5 A. Yes. Sometimes -- many Palestinians refer to human</p> <p>6 rights organizations as "shops."</p> <p>7 Q. Right.</p> <p>8 A. And there's an Arabic word.</p> <p>9 Q. Which is ... ?</p> <p>10 A. Dukka-kin.</p> <p>11 Q. Okay. You -- you gave a report in this case; right?</p> <p>12 A. Correct.</p> <p>13 Q. Who hired you?</p> <p>14 A. Miller &amp; Chevalier.</p> <p>15 Q. Brian Hill?</p> <p>16 A. Brian.</p> <p>17 Q. When did you begin your report?</p> <p>18 A. This has been some months ago. I don't recall exactly.</p> <p>19 Q. This year?</p> <p>20 A. I believe so.</p> <p>21 Q. About how long did you take to write it?</p> <p>22 A. Altogether, around 80 or 90 hours.</p> <p>23 Q. Did you charge by the hour?</p> <p>24 A. Yes.</p> <p>25 Q. How much?</p>

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<p>1 A. \$200.</p> <p>2 Q. Is it fair to say that your report built on fieldwork</p> <p>3 and articles that you had published?</p> <p>4 A. It's built on that, yes.</p> <p>5 Q. The articles that you cite of your own in the report</p> <p>6 came out of the fieldwork you did for your Ph.D; is that</p> <p>7 right?</p> <p>8 A. Correct.</p> <p>9 Q. And the primary source material, both for your</p> <p>10 dissertation and for the articles that sort of grew out</p> <p>11 of your dissertation, was the fieldwork you did</p> <p>12 from November of 2000 to February of '03?</p> <p>13 A. Yes.</p> <p>14 Q. Most of the time that you lived in the West Bank, you</p> <p>15 lived in Al Bira; is that right?</p> <p>16 A. Part of the time I lived there, and I traveled around</p> <p>17 and sometimes lived outside of Al Bira.</p> <p>18 Q. In -- I think you spent time in Bethlehem as well?</p> <p>19 A. Correct.</p> <p>20 Q. Did you live with a family in Al Bira, or did you live</p> <p>21 alone?</p> <p>22 A. No, I rented a house on my own.</p> <p>23 Q. And the family you lived with in Bethlehem: Describe</p> <p>24 that family.</p> <p>25 A. It is a large family of refugees. It has lots of</p>	<p>1 A. Yes.</p> <p>2 Q. How many times did you visit in Gaza?</p> <p>3 A. A few times.</p> <p>4 Q. You did something called ethnographic fieldwork; is that</p> <p>5 right?</p> <p>6 A. That's right.</p> <p>7 Q. So what is that?</p> <p>8 A. Ethnographic fieldwork is the main methodology of</p> <p>9 anthropology. It consists of long-term fieldwork,</p> <p>10 referred to as participant observation. I conducted two</p> <p>11 years of participant observation.</p> <p>12 The goal of ethnographic fieldwork is to understand</p> <p>13 a social system or set of social processes from the</p> <p>14 perspective of the people on the ground. And the way</p> <p>15 that that's done is through long-term intensive</p> <p>16 engagement with those people on a day-to-day basis.</p> <p>17 Participant observation has the benefit for this</p> <p>18 goal of allowing the researcher to get at the</p> <p>19 perspective of local actors, and the -- the long-term</p> <p>20 aspect of it reduces what's often referred to as</p> <p>21 reactivity; that is, over a long period of time, the</p> <p>22 people being researched are less likely to frame what</p> <p>23 they're saying to the researcher, because the researcher</p> <p>24 is somebody from outside, because some -- because</p> <p>25 long-term fieldwork allows the researcher to be more --</p>
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<p>1 brothers and sisters and parents -- I don't know what</p> <p>2 kind of description you want.</p> <p>3 Q. Just describe your recollection of them.</p> <p>4 A. They're a large and bustling family. There were</p> <p>5 grandchildren around as well.</p> <p>6 Q. Mm-hmm. Were they a religious family?</p> <p>7 A. Depends on the individual. Some were more or less</p> <p>8 pious.</p> <p>9 Q. What religion were they?</p> <p>10 A. Muslim.</p> <p>11 Q. Did -- did you spend much time in Jenin?</p> <p>12 A. I visited Jenin.</p> <p>13 Q. Did you interview people in Jenin?</p> <p>14 A. I did.</p> <p>15 Q. How many?</p> <p>16 A. I didn't count my interviews.</p> <p>17 Q. Did you spend time in Nablus?</p> <p>18 A. I did.</p> <p>19 Q. And how much time?</p> <p>20 A. I made several visits.</p> <p>21 Q. Did you spend time in Tulkarem?</p> <p>22 A. I visited Tulkarem.</p> <p>23 Q. Do you remember how many times?</p> <p>24 A. Not very often. I don't remember how many times.</p> <p>25 Q. Did you spend time in Gaza?</p>	<p>1 to become more of a local, in some sense. Reactivity is</p> <p>2 reduced.</p> <p>3 Another aspect of participant observation is</p> <p>4 ethnographic interviews. Another aspect of</p> <p>5 ethnography is a method -- and this can include open or</p> <p>6 semistructured interviews. Open interviews are very</p> <p>7 similar to conversations, and allow the researcher to</p> <p>8 explore themes in great depth with the interviewee and</p> <p>9 find out what people are thinking about, doing, saying,</p> <p>10 what's important to them. Semistructured interviews,</p> <p>11 like the label says, are slightly more guided</p> <p>12 conversations that allow the researcher to find out</p> <p>13 information about specific themes.</p> <p>14 In addition to participant observation and</p> <p>15 ethnographic interviews, ethnographic methodology</p> <p>16 usually includes collection of additional documents,</p> <p>17 publication, visual media; and through collecting this</p> <p>18 variety of information through these variety of methods,</p> <p>19 triangulation occurs. So something that may not have</p> <p>20 been found through one method can be found in another.</p> <p>21 A key -- another key element of ethnographic</p> <p>22 research is the use of key informants. These are people</p> <p>23 who are the researcher's gatekeeper and "in" to the</p> <p>24 society. It's usually important for a researcher to</p> <p>25 make sure that they find key informants from a variety</p>

1 of backgrounds, as I did.

2 With these strategies, data is collected; analysis  
3 is -- the data is collected until the researcher hits  
4 a point of what's called saturation, where you stop  
5 finding new themes, you stop learning new information.  
6 You know when you have enough to then begin analysis.

7 When the data is analyzed and written up, the  
8 material, if it's to be published, then goes through  
9 a rigorous process of peer review. So any article or  
10 book, draft, is reviewed by other experts in the field;  
11 in this case, anthropology or Middle East studies.

12 For an article published in the top journals of  
13 anthropology, such as those that I've published in, the  
14 peer review process includes at least two, if not more,  
15 rounds of review, and -- by two to four or five or more  
16 experts that are usually anonymous to the researcher.

17 And through the peer review process, the -- the  
18 credibility and plausibility of the research results are  
19 guaranteed. That's the accepted and agreed-upon  
20 methodology for anthropology.

21 Q. Does your dissertation go through a process like that?

22 A. No. My dissertation was reviewed by a committee of  
23 supervisors, so it's not considered peer review as such.

24 Q. Is -- is it of similar rigor, or -- I mean, what's  
25 the --

1 A. Indeed --

2 Q. How would you sort of compare and contrast --

3 A. In some ways, the dissertation is reviewed with more  
4 rigor, because in my case, at my university, it had to  
5 be defended in the public defense, and a committee of  
6 both the supervisors with whom I worked throughout my  
7 dissertation research had to pass and interrogate me  
8 about the dissertation, in addition to -- I think it was  
9 five other faculty members from the University of  
10 Chicago, who I had not worked with, who were also part  
11 of the questioning process.

12 Q. As I was trying to figure out what ethnographic  
13 fieldwork was, before we met, I read about Margaret  
14 Mead; is that like sort of -- what's your -- how do  
15 people today in your field think of Margaret Mead?

16 A. Well, Margaret Mead is one the grandmothers of  
17 anthropology, perhaps, but the kind of fieldwork and  
18 kind of research that she wrote is no longer really  
19 considered -- it's no longer the state of the art, let's  
20 say.

21 Q. Did you start with a research hypothesis?

22 A. I didn't begin my Ph.D. work with a research hypothesis;  
23 I began my Ph.D. fieldwork with a research question,  
24 which is --

25 Q. What was your question?

1 A. My question was, broadly, about -- the question about  
2 how Palestinians had -- what role human rights  
3 organizations played in channeling Palestinian political  
4 claims. A part of that was a question about how  
5 languages of suffering had become part of political  
6 discourse for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

7 Q. And as your fieldwork developed, did you sort of move  
8 away from that topic and look at more -- it seemed to me  
9 like you looked at something a little different in the  
10 end.

11 A. Because of the conditions on the ground, my research  
12 shifted more to an investigation of the ways that  
13 Palestinians were dealing with the Intifada, the way  
14 that Palestinians were living through the violence that  
15 characterized the Intifada. And the question of  
16 suffering did remain central, and I've focused on how --  
17 how Palestinian expressions of suffering were part,  
18 again, of their political language.

19 Q. Mm-hmm. I -- I read in your report you kind of gave  
20 a list of people that you interviewed and worked with;  
21 I want to ask you about that.

22 A. Okay.

23 Q. You said people involved in human rights work.

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Were those, like, outsiders who did human rights work?

1 Palestinians? Some of each?

2 A. This was a mix of people. These would have been  
3 Palestinians from the Occupied Territories as well as  
4 foreigners from outside of Palestine, or people who were  
5 of Palestinian heritage but citizens of other countries.  
6 So it was a variety of people.

7 Q. You've mentioned victims of human rights violations and  
8 their families.

9 A. Mm-hmm.

10 Q. Was that a significant focus of your work?

11 A. That was part of my research about the role of human  
12 rights organizations, so -- yes, it was a significant  
13 part.

14 Q. People involved in community-based organizations, you  
15 mentioned; just describe that a little bit.

16 A. So community-based organizations that I worked with or  
17 researched were groups that were attempting, for  
18 example, to provide youth with things to do; educational  
19 enrichment, for example, or cultural opportunities, or  
20 teaching them local folkloric dance or music. These  
21 groups would also be involved in things like building  
22 community gardens or producing plays. So these were,  
23 broadly, activity centers for youth.

24 Q. You mentioned in your report people involved in  
25 commemorating Palestinians who were killed by Israeli



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<p>1 forces. Could you describe that group?</p> <p>2 A. So people involved in commemorating victims would have</p> <p>3 included everyone from people who marched in what were</p> <p>4 referred to as martyr funerals; it could have</p> <p>5 involved -- it also included people who were involved in</p> <p>6 producing commemorative ceremonies or demonstrations.</p> <p>7 It would have involved talking with people who -- yeah,</p> <p>8 who -- who produced these kinds of -- of commemorative</p> <p>9 ceremonies or events.</p> <p>10 Q. You mentioned in your report that you interviewed PA</p> <p>11 officials and officials of political factions; is that</p> <p>12 right?</p> <p>13 A. Yeah.</p> <p>14 Q. Which ones?</p> <p>15 A. I can't name specific PA officials or representatives.</p> <p>16 Q. You mean you can't because it would violate</p> <p>17 a confidentiality agreement that you made?</p> <p>18 A. Yeah, I can't -- I can't name specific people unless</p> <p>19 I had the agreement ahead of time that their names would</p> <p>20 be made public.</p> <p>21 Q. Can you describe them by category?</p> <p>22 A. Mm-hmm. So I spoke with PA officials -- I spoke with</p> <p>23 some people who were -- I think I spoke with a governor,</p> <p>24 a mayor, people who worked for municipalities.</p> <p>25 Yeah, that's what I can recall.</p>	<p>1 Q. -- is that right?</p> <p>2 A. Yes.</p> <p>3 Q. Which ones?</p> <p>4 A. I volunteered most at Defence for Children</p> <p>5 International, Palestine section. I also volunteered at</p> <p>6 an organization called LAW, L-A-W. Yeah.</p> <p>7 Q. You helped produce reports for both of those</p> <p>8 organizations?</p> <p>9 A. Yes.</p> <p>10 Q. What were the goals of the organizations in producing</p> <p>11 the reports?</p> <p>12 A. In producing the reports, at DCI, the goal was to record</p> <p>13 in as much detail, with as much documentation, the</p> <p>14 effects of the occupation and the Intifada on children's</p> <p>15 lives, specifically in the year preceding the production</p> <p>16 of the report that I worked on. The goal was to record</p> <p>17 this information, to have it stored and published, as</p> <p>18 well as to distribute this information to a variety of</p> <p>19 audiences: Interested people, government officials,</p> <p>20 UN people.</p> <p>21 Q. Was the DCI report published in English?</p> <p>22 A. Yes.</p> <p>23 Q. And the LAW report was also published in English?</p> <p>24 A. The -- I'm not sure if the research that I did ever</p> <p>25 ended up in a report. I was asked to do research on</p>
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<p>1 Q. And political factions?</p> <p>2 A. I spoke with some people who self-identified as being</p> <p>3 part of or sympathetic to a variety of --</p> <p>4 self-identified as being related to Fatah, or -- in this</p> <p>5 period, I can't recall if I spoke with people who</p> <p>6 self-identified as Hamas; throughout my research, I have</p> <p>7 talked with people who self-identify as Hamas.</p> <p>8 I spoke with people who were not officials, but who</p> <p>9 were affiliated or claimed former affiliation with</p> <p>10 the PFLP, or former affiliation with DFLP, although</p> <p>11 these were not leaders.</p> <p>12 Q. You mentioned people who worked in local news media</p> <p>13 production.</p> <p>14 A. Yes.</p> <p>15 Q. Is that the Bethlehem television station?</p> <p>16 A. That was part of it, yes.</p> <p>17 Q. What else?</p> <p>18 A. I also spoke with somebody who worked at PATV, and</p> <p>19 I think I also spoke with people who worked at --</p> <p>20 I think it was called Watan TV.</p> <p>21 Q. Was that a small -- like a local television station?</p> <p>22 A. Yes.</p> <p>23 Q. You worked as a volunteer at human rights organizations</p> <p>24 as well --</p> <p>25 A. Yes.</p>	<p>1 violations of food and water security, but I wasn't</p> <p>2 specifically involved in writing up a report.</p> <p>3 Q. I saw your name in connection with a law report about</p> <p>4 targeted killings.</p> <p>5 A. I don't think so.</p> <p>6 Q. Well, trust me on that one.</p> <p>7 A. I don't --</p> <p>8 Q. You don't recall it?</p> <p>9 A. I don't recall it.</p> <p>10 Q. I believe you.</p> <p>11 All right. You mentioned gatekeepers?</p> <p>12 A. Yes.</p> <p>13 Q. Talk about that. What does that mean?</p> <p>14 A. So -- "key informants" is the slightly more technical</p> <p>15 name, I suppose, for people who help a researcher gain</p> <p>16 access to the communities that the researcher wants to</p> <p>17 talk to. Usually these are people who have wide social</p> <p>18 networks themselves.</p> <p>19 Q. Mm-hmm.</p> <p>20 A. And the -- the purpose of -- of using key informants is</p> <p>21 to provide a researcher with a -- a trusted "in" to the</p> <p>22 communities. They introduce the researcher to the</p> <p>23 people that they know. In my case, I, as I mentioned,</p> <p>24 tried to make sure that I used key informants from</p> <p>25 a variety of backgrounds who represented in some way</p>

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1 a variety of demographic categories.

2 So in my case, I had key informants that were male  
3 and female, politically independent, secular, more or  
4 less pious, more well off, cosmopolitan businessmen, or  
5 a poor person from a refugee camp.

6 Q. How many did you have in that category?

7 A. Of key informants, I would say four or five that  
8 I considered key informants.

9 Q. And are you able to tell me who those people were?

10 A. I can name some of them.

11 Q. Okay. Go ahead.

12 A. One's name is Deab Saed; one is named Nasrin Al-Asah;  
13 one is named Nadal Al-Asrak.

14 The other two, I don't have specific permission from  
15 them to -- to use their names, so I wouldn't.

16 Q. All right. I'm not going to take their depositions or  
17 anything; just curious, trying to learn.

18 A. Yeah.

19 Q. So were -- were some of the key informants your friends?  
20 Did you become friends with them?

21 A. Yes, I became friends with them.

22 Q. And were any of them human rights workers?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Which ones?

25 A. Deab Saed became a human rights worker, and one who

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1 I haven't named was a human rights worker.

2 Q. You did your field interviews alongside of human rights  
3 workers; is that right?

4 A. Sometimes yes, sometimes no.

5 Q. You did interviews in Arabic and recorded them on tape;  
6 is that right?

7 A. Most of the time, yes.

8 Q. And then did you transcribe the interviews? How did you  
9 use the recordings?

10 A. Yes, they -- either I transcribed them or a research  
11 assistant transcribed them.

12 Q. Did any research assistant do any of the interviews, or  
13 did you do all of the interviews?

14 A. No, I did all of the interviews.

15 Q. Do you use a -- did you use a checklist or an outline  
16 for your interviews?

17 A. It depended on the kind of interview. As I mentioned,  
18 many of my interviews were open and did not involve any  
19 kind of set outline. The more structured interviews did  
20 focus on key themes, and I would have had in my head, or  
21 on a piece of paper, broad issues that I would have  
22 wanted to cover. These were not survey interviews, that  
23 you may be more familiar with from sociology or other  
24 social science; the goal was not to get quantitative  
25 data in any sense. It was rather to explore issues with

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1 people and get a deeper sense for qualitative data.

2 Q. So then do you summarize your -- as part of your  
3 methodology, do you then summarize the interviews in  
4 some way?

5 A. During the analysis phase, it would be more a matter of  
6 identifying themes, concepts, issues that arise, either  
7 for further investigation or for identifying patterns of  
8 thought or belief or interest.

9 Q. During the -- your peer review process for the defense  
10 of your dissertation, did the transcripts of your  
11 interviews -- are those made available to peer  
12 reviewers?

13 A. No, those are confidential.

14 Q. And you keep them, but they're confidential?

15 A. Correct.

16 Q. And you still have them?

17 A. Some of them.

18 Q. All right.

19 You -- you avoided -- when you did your fieldwork,  
20 you avoided focusing on people involved in militant  
21 activities; right?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. And you did not collect information on people who might  
24 turn up on a "Wanted" list; right?

25 A. That was not a focus of my research.

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1 Q. And you did not try to investigate suicide bombers, or  
2 those in their networks, directly; right?

3 A. Correct.

4 Q. Did you interview any members of the Al-Aqsa Martyr  
5 Brigades?

6 A. I spoke with some people who self-identified as being  
7 associated with the Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades.

8 Q. How many?

9 A. Again, I didn't keep a numerical tally of the people  
10 I interviewed, but I can guess around two.

11 Q. Did you interview anybody who was a member of Force 17?

12 A. Not that I know of.

13 Q. Did you interview any -- anybody who self-identified as  
14 being associated with the Tanzeem?

15 A. One, that I recall.

16 Q. Did you interview anybody who was an employee of  
17 a Palestinian Authority security service?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. How many?

20 A. Again, a handful.

21 Q. Did you interview any senior officers of PA Security  
22 Services?

23 A. Senior officers? I think I interviewed one senior  
24 officer.

25 Q. Can you say who it was?



1 A. No.  
2 Q. Did you ever interview any prisoners in Israeli jails?  
3 A. People who were at the time prisoners in Israeli jails?  
4 Q. Correct.  
5 A. No.  
6 Q. Did you ever attend a sentencing of a Palestinian  
7 convicted of terrorism?  
8 A. No.  
9 Q. We bantered about ethnocentrism before; what is that?  
10 A. Ethnocentrism is a label applied to people who view the  
11 world from the specific perspective of the place they  
12 come from.  
13 Q. Did -- did you feel that you had ethnocentrism in your  
14 views about the Palestinians before you arrived?  
15 A. Before I arrived? A key feature of ethnographic  
16 fieldwork is -- for the ethnographer -- is to adopt  
17 a stance of relativism; that is, the person goes in  
18 trying to understand the situation on the ground from  
19 the perspective of the people on the ground,  
20 understanding that what they believe or hold to be true  
21 is relative to their context. So the goal for the  
22 anthropologist is to set aside personal assumptions or  
23 expectations in order to get into the -- the depths of  
24 how people on the ground in the research site think  
25 about things.

1 Having said that, it's never -- it's -- it's broadly  
2 understood among anthropologists that one can never  
3 fully shed one's own background assumptions and  
4 expectations; but because of the length of time that  
5 most anthropologists spend in the field conducting  
6 fieldwork, there's a process of learning the culture or  
7 society or social system that one is going into.  
8 MR. YALOWITZ: Why don't we pause for a moment, I'll -- off  
9 the record, and I'll introduce my colleagues.  
10 (Discussion off the record.)  
11 MR. YALOWITZ: Sorry for the interruption. I need to go  
12 back on.  
13 Great. I'm sorry, could you -- Fiona, could you  
14 just read the last couple of sentences.  
15 (Record read.)  
16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
17 Q. Is it fair to say that you grew to identify closely with  
18 the Palestinian people emotionally?  
19 A. No.  
20 I'm not really sure what that means.  
21 Q. Well, so you cried at funerals; right?  
22 A. Yes.  
23 Q. And you referred to your being subjective in some way,  
24 newly subjective, in connection with your work. Do you  
25 recall that?

1 A. What's the context?  
2 Q. In your dissertation.  
3 A. What's the broader context?  
4 Q. Sure. I'll -- I'll read a passage from your  
5 dissertation. You wrote:  
6 "Shared emotion, especially sympathy and sadness,  
7 both attest to and are used to create national and  
8 international connections. What duties I was charged to  
9 perform in my new subjectivity was not explained  
10 explicitly, but it was this experience of emotional  
11 conversion that would encourage me to understand more  
12 clearly the situation in which they lived, the depth of  
13 its effects, and ultimately who was responsible for it."  
14 That was a passage you wrote after describing  
15 a funeral you attended.  
16 A. Mm-hmm.  
17 Q. Do you recall that?  
18 A. Broadly.  
19 Q. Do you want to see it in context? Would that be  
20 helpful?  
21 A. No, I know what I was doing there.  
22 Q. Sure. So just talk about that.  
23 A. So what I was trying to understand and analyze and  
24 convey was what I observed of Palestinians' attempts to  
25 explain their situation of life under occupation during

1 Intifada, to explain the injustice of their situation to  
2 outsiders, partly through emotional means.  
3 I was also trying to explain through the  
4 dissertation how this kind of production of shared  
5 emotion was a feature of Palestinian nationalism. It  
6 was a way that Palestinians also produced solidarity  
7 amongst themselves.  
8 So when I'm referring there to this new shared  
9 subjectivity, whatever the specific word was, what I'm  
10 referring to is the way that the Palestinians who I was  
11 engaged with, or doing research on, were themselves  
12 trying to -- or coming to an understanding of me as  
13 being in a shared situation with them.  
14 So this is an analysis of their attempts to bring me  
15 into a shared emotional context.  
16 Q. When you wrote, "What duties I was charged to perform in  
17 my new subjectivity was not explained explicitly," were  
18 you referring to your mindset, or their mindset, or  
19 both?  
20 A. I was referring to their mindset.  
21 Q. You referred in your dissertation to "the political  
22 import of shared emotion and solidarity." What did you  
23 mean by that?  
24 A. What I was just talking about is the -- two levels,  
25 really. One is Palestinian nationalism, I explained or

1 inferred from my research, was partly produced through  
2 the production of shared emotion that was produced  
3 through rituals like funerals or other commemorative  
4 ceremonies. So what I'm referring to is the way that  
5 emotional solidarity among Palestinians was created and  
6 expressed, and trying to understand the political  
7 effects of that.

8 On the other level, I was trying to understand how  
9 Palestinians attempted to bring outsiders of all sorts  
10 into a similar relationship of shared sympathy as a way  
11 of making their political points made in something other  
12 than a discursive or ideological register.

13 Q. Is it fair to say that you -- or maybe it's not fair to  
14 say; I don't know -- but it seemed like, reading your  
15 work, you had some sympathy for their perspective. Is  
16 that -- do I have that wrong?

17 A. In my work, I conveyed or tried to analyze the processes  
18 and motivations behind Palestinian efforts to produce  
19 this kind of sympathy.

20 Q. So do you have sympathy for the perspective of the  
21 Palestinians?

22 A. There are many perspectives of many Palestinians.

23 Q. So is that a "yes"?

24 A. So it means that that question is too broad to really  
25 answer.

1 Q. Oh. So -- so there is -- what would you say the  
2 principal goal of the Al-Aqsa Intifada was?

3 A. The Second Intifada, if that's what you are referring  
4 to, was primarily aimed at ending or resisting the  
5 Israeli occupation of occupied Palestinian territories.

6 Q. So did you -- do you have sympathy with that goal?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Thank you.

9 Now I want to ask you about some sources --

10 A. Okay.

11 Q. -- that you referred to in your work, and particularly  
12 in your report.

13 A. Okay.

14 Q. So you refer in your report to your dissertation and to  
15 articles that were taken from the work you did in your  
16 dissertation; is that fair to say?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. And is it reasonable, in your opinion, for experts in  
19 your field to rely on those sources?

20 A. "Those sources" meaning the dissertation?

21 Q. Your -- your dissertation and -- would it be reasonable  
22 for experts in your field to rely on your dissertation?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And would it be reasonable for experts in your field to  
25 rely on the articles you've published?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. All right. Now, you -- you rely on the Mitchell  
3 Commission report?

4 A. In my report?

5 Q. Yes.

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Is it reasonable for experts in your field to rely on  
8 reports like that created by the Mitchell Commission?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. Do you -- that report was published by the State  
11 Department; is that right?

12 A. I believe so.

13 Q. Is it reasonable for experts in your field to rely on  
14 other reports produced by the State Department?

15 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

16 You can go ahead and answer.

17 A. It depends on the research question.

18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

19 Q. Did you -- I can't remember if you relied on reports --  
20 I think you did -- from human rights groups?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Like B'Tselem and Physicians for Human Rights?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Is it reasonable to rely on reports by groups like that?

25 A. Yes.

1 Q. And by that, I mean for people in your field of  
2 expertise.

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. So is -- are reports by Human Rights Watch considered  
5 reliable by experts in your field?

6 A. There's some contention about Human Rights Watch  
7 reliability and objectivity.

8 Q. Tell me what you mean by that.

9 A. I mean that some people, some experts, believe that  
10 Human Rights Watch is biased in how they report on the  
11 Israeli/Palestinian conflict --

12 Q. Biased --

13 A. -- in some of their reports.

14 Q. Biased in which direction?

15 A. Towards the Israeli -- an Israeli perspective.

16 Q. What about an organization called Freedom House: Have  
17 you heard of them?

18 A. I've heard of it.

19 Q. Who -- which -- coming back to Human Rights Watch, which  
20 experts have you heard say that Human Rights Watch is  
21 biased toward the Israelis?

22 A. The one person whose name I can recall right now is  
23 Mouin Rabbani, who is a political analyst, not an  
24 anthropologist, and a former human rights worker.

25 Q. I must say I've heard Israelis complain about Human

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<p>1 Rights Watch too. That's the sign of a good human 2 rights worker; right? Both sides complain. 3 Do you think Human Rights Watch is biased towards 4 Israelis? 5 A. It would depend on the specific report. 6 Q. Have you read the one about the Second Intifada? 7 A. Which one is that? 8 Q. It's called -- I think it's called "Erased in a Moment," 9 or "Gone in a Moment." 10 A. I believe so. 11 Q. And what was your impression of it? 12 A. I haven't read it recently, and I can't comment. 13 Q. You -- you cited a report from an organization called 14 International Crisis Group? 15 A. Yes. 16 Q. You said they were widely respected? 17 A. Yes. 18 Q. You think it's reasonable for experts in your field to 19 rely on reports by International Crisis Group? 20 A. Depending on the research goal and question. 21 Q. You cited a book by a University of Chicago professor 22 named Robert Pape -- Robert Pape? 23 A. Robert or Richard Pape. 24 Q. Richard Pape -- something with an "R," an "R" name -- 25 A. Yes.</p>	<p>1 field? 2 A. Citing statements by political figures? Depending on 3 the research question and goal. 4 Q. It could be? 5 A. It could be. 6 Q. Fair enough. All right. 7 I want to sort of establish some things that I think 8 you're not offering expert opinions on, but I just want 9 to make sure; okay? 10 A. Okay. 11 Q. So you're not an expert on international humanitarian 12 law; right? 13 A. Correct. 14 Q. You -- you've never studied the Geneva Convention; 15 right? 16 A. I've never studied it in school. 17 Q. Have you -- have you read the PLO/Israel Interim 18 Agreement? 19 A. Perhaps. 20 Q. You're -- are you familiar with the Rome Statute? 21 A. I've heard of it, but I'm not an expert. 22 Q. Do you believe that -- well, in your report, you define 23 terrorism; right? 24 A. Correct. 25 Q. You -- you adopt the Mitchell Commission's report --</p>
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<p>1 Q. -- at the beginning. 2 Do you know the book? 3 A. I do know the book. 4 Q. And is it reasonable for experts in your field to rely 5 on it? 6 A. Again, depending on the research question and the 7 research goal, yes. 8 Q. You cited an article by somebody named Anthony 9 Cordesman. 10 A. Okay. 11 Q. Do you know who that is? 12 A. I recognize the author's name. I don't recall the 13 citation. 14 Q. You -- you cited, I think, at least one article from 15 Haaretz. 16 A. Yes. 17 Q. Do you know that newspaper? 18 A. I do. 19 Q. Is it a reputable newspaper? 20 A. I believe so. 21 Q. Is it reasonable for experts in your field to cite 22 articles from Haaretz? 23 A. Depending on the research question and goal. 24 Q. And you cited statements by political figures; is that 25 something reasonable for people to rely on in your</p>	<p>1 I would paraphrase it as violence directed towards 2 civilians to achieve political goals. Is that a fair 3 paraphrase? 4 A. Yes. 5 Q. Do you believe that terrorism, as you and I have just 6 defined it, is ever permitted by international human 7 rights law? 8 A. No, I don't think so, but I'm not an expert in 9 international human rights law. 10 Q. Do you believe that terrorism, as you and I have just 11 defined it, is ever morally justified? 12 A. No. 13 Q. You're not expert on Israeli criminal law or procedure; 14 right? 15 A. Correct. 16 Q. You -- you don't really know much about Israeli 17 interrogation techniques, do you? 18 MR. HILL: Objection, vague. 19 You can respond. 20 A. I know something about Israeli interrogations. 21 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 22 Q. How do you know that? 23 A. Based on my reading of -- my extensive reading of human 24 rights and UN reports about the topic. 25 Q. Do you find the UN to be a reliable reporter on matters</p>

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<p>1 involving Israel?</p> <p>2 A. Depending on the body, depending on the UN body, and</p> <p>3 depending on the report.</p> <p>4 Q. Do you -- do you know much about the Israeli military</p> <p>5 courts?</p> <p>6 A. Not much.</p> <p>7 Q. How about the Israeli civilian courts?</p> <p>8 A. Not much.</p> <p>9 Q. You've never tried a case; right?</p> <p>10 A. No.</p> <p>11 Q. Have you ever sat in a courtroom while a case is</p> <p>12 pending?</p> <p>13 A. No.</p> <p>14 Q. You're not an expert on terrorism; right?</p> <p>15 A. No.</p> <p>16 Q. You're not an expert on police procedure or criminology;</p> <p>17 right?</p> <p>18 A. No.</p> <p>19 Q. You're not an expert on military discipline, are you?</p> <p>20 A. Correct.</p> <p>21 Q. You're not expert on the laws of war; right?</p> <p>22 A. Correct.</p> <p>23 Q. You don't have any expertise on Palestinian Authority's</p> <p>24 command and control of its security forces; right?</p> <p>25 A. Correct.</p>	<p>1 that, or writing that?</p> <p>2 A. Not specifically.</p> <p>3 Q. Do you agree with it?</p> <p>4 A. I know that's what was widely reported about him.</p> <p>5 Q. Did you have any reason to believe that's not true?</p> <p>6 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. She can respond.</p> <p>7 A. I wrote that based on what I had read and what was</p> <p>8 generally reported in media.</p> <p>9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>10 Q. And sitting here today, has anything come to your</p> <p>11 attention that suggests what you wrote was incorrect?</p> <p>12 A. I don't have any factual information about Yasser</p> <p>13 Arafat's relationship to funds.</p> <p>14 Q. Okay. Ahmed Qurei?</p> <p>15 A. Mm-hmm.</p> <p>16 Q. Do you know who that is?</p> <p>17 A. I've not met him.</p> <p>18 Q. Who is it?</p> <p>19 A. He is a -- or was a political leader.</p> <p>20 Q. In ... ?</p> <p>21 A. In the Palestinian Authority.</p> <p>22 Q. How about Jibril Rajub: Did you ever meet him?</p> <p>23 A. I never met him.</p> <p>24 Q. Do you know who he is?</p> <p>25 A. He was, I believe, head of a security service.</p>
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<p>1 Q. You don't have any expertise on the PLO's organizational</p> <p>2 structure; right?</p> <p>3 A. Correct.</p> <p>4 Q. Do you know much about the Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades?</p> <p>5 A. Not much.</p> <p>6 Q. Do you know much about the PA security forces?</p> <p>7 A. Not much.</p> <p>8 Q. So I'm going to ask you about -- do you want to take</p> <p>9 a break, or do you want to continue?</p> <p>10 MR. HILL: We've been going an hour; why don't we take</p> <p>11 a break?</p> <p>12 A. Take a break.</p> <p>13 MR. YALOWITZ: We can go off the record.</p> <p>14 (10:14 a.m.)</p> <p>15 (A break was taken.)</p> <p>16 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay. So are we on the record?</p> <p>17 Q. Okay. So what I'd like to do is ask you about some</p> <p>18 people, and you can tell me if you know them, or if</p> <p>19 you've met them, and what you know about them. Is that</p> <p>20 okay?</p> <p>21 A. Okay.</p> <p>22 Q. So Yasser Arafat: Did you ever meet him?</p> <p>23 A. No.</p> <p>24 Q. You mentioned in your dissertation that he had an</p> <p>25 infamously tight grip on funds. Do you recall saying</p>	<p>1 Q. Did you ever meet an individual name Muhammad Dahlan?</p> <p>2 A. I've never met Dahlan.</p> <p>3 Q. Do you know what his job was during the 2000 to 2004</p> <p>4 period?</p> <p>5 A. I don't know specifically what his job was. I believe</p> <p>6 he was head of a security service.</p> <p>7 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Tawfiq al-Tirawi?</p> <p>8 A. I don't believe so.</p> <p>9 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Hilal Abdel-Haq?</p> <p>10 A. No.</p> <p>11 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Abdallah Barghouti?</p> <p>12 A. No.</p> <p>13 Q. Do you know who that is?</p> <p>14 A. No.</p> <p>15 Q. Did you ever meet Marwan Barghouti?</p> <p>16 A. No.</p> <p>17 Q. Do you -- you know who Marwan Barghouti is?</p> <p>18 A. I know about Marwan Barghouti.</p> <p>19 Q. Do you know where Marwan Barghouti is today?</p> <p>20 A. I believe he's in an Israeli prison.</p> <p>21 Q. Do you know why he's in prison?</p> <p>22 A. I believe the Israeli courts convicted him of crimes.</p> <p>23 Q. Did you ever read the verdict on his -- following his</p> <p>24 trial?</p> <p>25 A. No.</p>

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<p>1 Q. Have you ever read -- have you ever read his --</p> <p>2 transcripts or reports of his interrogation?</p> <p>3 A. No.</p> <p>4 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Nasser Awais?</p> <p>5 A. No.</p> <p>6 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Ra'ed al-Karmi?</p> <p>7 A. No.</p> <p>8 Q. Do you know who that was?</p> <p>9 A. I believe he was someone who was killed during the</p> <p>10 Second Intifada.</p> <p>11 Q. Do you -- do you know what his -- what he was doing</p> <p>12 before he was killed?</p> <p>13 A. No.</p> <p>14 Q. Did you ever meet an individual name Nasser Naji</p> <p>15 Abu-Hamid?</p> <p>16 A. No.</p> <p>17 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Muhammad Abdel</p> <p>18 Rahman Salem Mouslah?</p> <p>19 A. No.</p> <p>20 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Jamal Ahawil?</p> <p>21 A. No.</p> <p>22 Q. Forgive my pronunciation; it's probably very bad.</p> <p>23 A. I think I'm understanding.</p> <p>24 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Sa'id Ramadan?</p> <p>25 A. Excuse me.</p>	<p>1 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Sana'a Mohammed</p> <p>2 Shchada?</p> <p>3 A. No.</p> <p>4 Q. Did you know who she is?</p> <p>5 A. No.</p> <p>6 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Kamal a-Din</p> <p>7 Isma'il Musa al-Abed?</p> <p>8 A. I don't think so.</p> <p>9 Q. Did you ever meet Wafa Idris?</p> <p>10 A. No.</p> <p>11 Q. Do you know who she was?</p> <p>12 A. I have heard about her.</p> <p>13 Q. Tell me what you know about her.</p> <p>14 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>15 A. I read in the news that she was a suicide bomber.</p> <p>16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>17 Q. Did you ever meet anybody from her family?</p> <p>18 A. No.</p> <p>19 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Mohammed Sami</p> <p>20 Ibrahim Abdallah?</p> <p>21 A. Not to my recollection.</p> <p>22 Q. Do you recall an individual named Pharess Ghanem?</p> <p>23 A. Not to my recollection.</p> <p>24 Q. Do you know an individual named -- or did you ever meet</p> <p>25 an individual named Majid al-Masri?</p>
Page 46	Page 48
<p>1 No. No.</p> <p>2 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Nassar al-Shawish?</p> <p>3 A. I don't believe so.</p> <p>4 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Ibrahim Hamed?</p> <p>5 A. I don't believe so.</p> <p>6 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Moonzer Mahood --</p> <p>7 Mahood -- excuse me: Moonzer Mahmood Halil Noor?</p> <p>8 A. I don't believe so.</p> <p>9 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Abd-el Karim</p> <p>10 Aweis?</p> <p>11 A. I don't believe so.</p> <p>12 Q. Have you ever heard of him?</p> <p>13 A. I -- I think I've heard of him.</p> <p>14 Q. What do you understand his prominence to be?</p> <p>15 MR. HILL: Objection. Lack of foundation.</p> <p>16 A. I think that he was someone who was arrested during the</p> <p>17 Second Intifada.</p> <p>18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>19 Q. Do you know where he is today?</p> <p>20 A. No.</p> <p>21 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Kahira Sa'id Ali</p> <p>22 Sa'adi?</p> <p>23 A. No.</p> <p>24 Q. Do you know who she is?</p> <p>25 A. No.</p>	<p>1 A. Not that I recall.</p> <p>2 Q. Did you ever meet anybody named Ali Mohammed Hamed</p> <p>3 Abu-Halil?</p> <p>4 A. Not that I recall.</p> <p>5 Q. Did somebody just join on the telephone?</p> <p>6 MS. WEISER: It's Rachel here.</p> <p>7 MR. YALOWITZ: Hi, Rachel. So the record --</p> <p>8 MS. WEISER: I'm going to put my phone on mute.</p> <p>9 MR. YALOWITZ: Thank you.</p> <p>10 The record can reflect that Rachel Weiser,</p> <p>11 W-E-I-S-E-R, joined the meeting by telephone.</p> <p>12 Q. Where were we: Abu Khalil. Oh, this is a long one:</p> <p>13 Did you ever meet an individual named Adb-al-Rahman</p> <p>14 Youssef Abd-al-Rahman Mekadad?</p> <p>15 A. Not that I recall.</p> <p>16 Q. Do you know who that is?</p> <p>17 A. No.</p> <p>18 Q. Do you recall -- were you in Bethlehem when the Church</p> <p>19 of the Nativity was seized by militants?</p> <p>20 MR. HILL: Objection to form.</p> <p>21 You can respond.</p> <p>22 A. I was -- believe I was in Bethlehem or Ramallah when</p> <p>23 there was a siege of the church by Israeli forces.</p> <p>24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>25 Q. Do you know any of the individuals who were inside the</p>



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1 church?  
2 A. I know someone who was inside the church.  
3 Q. But it was not Mekadad?  
4 A. No.  
5 Q. Who was it?  
6 A. His name was S-Ahmet.  
7 Q. And what was his relationship with the -- the militants  
8 who were inside the church?  
9 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
10 A. I didn't know.  
11 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
12 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Ahmed Salah Ahmed  
13 Salah?  
14 A. Not that I recall.  
15 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Hilmi Abd-al-Karim  
16 Mohammed Hamash?  
17 A. Not that I recall.  
18 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Ahmed Mohammed  
19 Ahmed Sa'ad?  
20 A. Not that I recall.  
21 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Ibrahim Abd-al  
22 Hai?  
23 A. Not that I recall.  
24 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Basher Bargouti?  
25 A. Not that I recall.

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1 Q. Do you -- do you ever meet an individual named Uzz-a-din  
2 Hamamra?  
3 A. Not that I recall.  
4 Q. Did you ever meet Mohammed Hashaika?  
5 No?  
6 A. Not that I recall.  
7 Q. Do you know who that is?  
8 A. No.  
9 Q. Did you ever meet an individual -- did you ever -- did  
10 you attend the funeral of Mohammed Hashaika?  
11 A. Not that I recall.  
12 Q. Did you ever attend a funeral of a suicide bomber?  
13 A. No, not that I know of.  
14 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Ali Ja'ara?  
15 A. Not that I recall.  
16 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Said Awadeh?  
17 A. Not that I recall.  
18 Q. Did -- is the name "Mohammed Hashaika" a familiar one to  
19 you?  
20 A. No.  
21 Q. Is the name "Ali Ja'ara" a familiar one to you?  
22 A. No.  
23 Q. How about Said Awadeh: Have you ever heard that name  
24 before?  
25 A. Not that I recall.

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1 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Naef Abu Sharah?  
2 A. Not that I recall.  
3 Q. And is that a familiar name to you?  
4 A. Not that I recall.  
5 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Mazen Marwan Faiz  
6 Fraita?  
7 A. Not that I recall.  
8 Q. Did you ever meet an individual named Fawzi Murar?  
9 A. Not that I recall.  
10 Q. I may have had asked you this before, but did you ever  
11 meet anybody from Force 17?  
12 A. Not that I knew of.  
13 Q. Do you know what Force 17 was?  
14 A. I understand it was a -- I believe a security force,  
15 Palestinian security force.  
16 Q. Do you know what their job was?  
17 A. Not specifically.  
18 Q. Do you -- did you ever meet an individual named Ahmed  
19 Ibrahim Hilles?  
20 A. Not that I recall.  
21 Q. And did you ever meet an individual named Ziad Abu Amr?  
22 A. Not that I recall.  
23 Q. All right.  
24 Are you familiar with the work of the Palestinian  
25 Human Rights Monitoring Group?

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1 A. I've -- I think I've seen the website.  
2 Q. Did you ever meet Bassem Eid -- Eid? How do you say his  
3 name?  
4 A. Bassem Eid.  
5 I'm not sure if I met him.  
6 Q. Do you know who he is?  
7 A. I believe he's a human rights worker.  
8 Q. He wrote a report called "Media in Palestine: Between  
9 the Hammer and the Anvil of Self-censorship." Did you  
10 ever read that report?  
11 A. I don't know.  
12 Q. There is a document -- let me give you a document called  
13 "Journalism Education in Countries with Limited Media  
14 Freedom," and we'll ask some questions about that.  
15 A. Okay.  
16 (Exhibit 1 marked for identification.)  
17 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
18 Q. Okay, Dr. Allen, do you have Allen deposition exhibit 1  
19 before you?  
20 A. Yes.  
21 Q. And you'll see, down in the lower right-hand corner, the  
22 number 462.  
23 A. Yes.  
24 Q. That's my handwriting; I wrote that the other day when  
25 the defendants provided it to one of my witnesses.



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1 Have you ever seen this report before?

2 A. Not in this form.

3 Q. Do you know what it is?

4 A. I don't believe so.

5 Q. You think you may have seen it in another form, or

6 you're just being careful when you say that?

7 A. I don't think I've seen it.

8 Q. All right. Could you turn to the second page of the

9 document, which is entitled "CHAPTER FOUR" -- I guess

10 it's the third page; sorry -- "PALESTINIAN MEDIA MAP."

11 Do you see that?

12 Do you have the same document I do -- yeah, there we

13 go.

14 A. Oh, sorry.

15 Q. "PALESTINIAN MEDIA MAP."

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. All right.

18 By Nibal -- how do you say his last name?

19 A. "Thawabteh."

20 Q. Do you know him?

21 A. No.

22 Q. This is -- this is not a document that's familiar to

23 you?

24 A. I don't believe so.

25 Q. All right.

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1 And then if you just look with me on the first page,

2 it's a little -- the copying is a little difficult to

3 read, but toward the bottom, it gets a little easier to

4 read. And there's a sentence four lines from the bottom

5 that says:

6 "Threats, arrests, and abuse of journalists deemed

7 critical of the Palestinian Authority, the Fatah party,

8 and the Hamas party, have become routine."

9 Do you see that?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And then it says:

12 "Most independent media outlets exercise cautious

13 self-censorship, particularly on the issue of internal

14 Palestinian politics."

15 Do you see that?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Do you have any reason to doubt the accuracy of these

18 two sentences?

19 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

20 A. I have no first-hand knowledge that would support these

21 sentences.

22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

23 Q. And do you have any first-hand knowledge that would

24 rebut them?

25 A. The -- the media personnel who I spoke with did not

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1 report sentiments that support these sentences, or these

2 claims.

3 Q. How many media personnel did you speak with?

4 A. I didn't count them.

5 Q. Can you give us an estimate?

6 A. Could have been between 10 and 20.

7 Q. And what organizations were they in?

8 A. These were people related to Bethlehem TV, PATV, and

9 I believe Watan TV.

10 Q. Is PATV owned by the Palestinian Authority?

11 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

12 A. I don't know.

13 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

14 Q. Did you -- when you were living in Ramallah and

15 Bethlehem, did you watch PATV?

16 A. I sometimes watched PATV.

17 Q. What did you think of it?

18 A. That's a broad question.

19 Q. Too broad?

20 A. Yeah.

21 Q. Did you find it reliable?

22 A. I guess I wasn't -- I wasn't watching PATV with the

23 purpose of assessing its reliability.

24 Q. Why did you watch it?

25 A. I was interested in knowing how the events of the

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1 Intifada were being portrayed across a variety of media.

2 Q. Did you -- do you have a sense of how many people in the

3 West Bank and Gaza had televisions in the 2000 to 2004

4 time frame?

5 A. My understanding was that a majority of people had

6 television.

7 Q. I read a statistic that 93 percent had televisions; does

8 that sound right to you?

9 A. I haven't taken a survey myself, but that sounds

10 reasonable.

11 Q. And I read that of those, 29 percent watch PATV. Does

12 that sound reasonable to you?

13 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

14 A. I didn't take a survey, so I actually can't assess

15 whether or not that's reasonable.

16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

17 Q. Fair enough.

18 Is PATV comparable to any television network in the

19 United States?

20 A. "Comparable"? Well, I don't know; what it was

21 portraying and reporting about was very distinct from

22 the kind of news that American TV portrays.

23 Q. When you were living in Ramallah and Bethlehem, did you

24 ever read reports from Wafa?

25 A. I may have skimmed that newspaper on very rare occasion.

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<p>1 Q. Do you know what it is?</p> <p>2 A. I believe it's the -- it's understood to be the official</p> <p>3 news agency of the Palestinian Authority.</p> <p>4 Q. When you were living in Ramallah and Bethlehem, did you</p> <p>5 read Al-Quds?</p> <p>6 A. I reviewed Al-Quds.</p> <p>7 Q. And did you read Al-Ayyam during that period?</p> <p>8 A. I reviewed Al-Ayyam.</p> <p>9 Q. Did -- what's the difference between reading and</p> <p>10 reviewing?</p> <p>11 A. I didn't read every article, or -- I -- it was more than</p> <p>12 skimming, and getting a sense of what was being reported</p> <p>13 and how.</p> <p>14 Q. Did you -- did you review, as you've just described it,</p> <p>15 did you reviewed Al-Hayat al-Jadida?</p> <p>16 A. Perhaps on occasion, yes.</p> <p>17 Q. Did -- did you understand Al-Hayat al-Jadida to be</p> <p>18 associated with the Palestinian Authority?</p> <p>19 A. My understanding was that people regarded it to be</p> <p>20 associated with the Palestinian Authority.</p> <p>21 Q. Have you ever heard that it was the unofficial</p> <p>22 mouthpiece of the Palestinian Authority?</p> <p>23 A. Yes, I believe I've heard that.</p> <p>24 Q. Do you -- did you find that to be an accurate</p> <p>25 description?</p>	<p>1 distributed primarily at the ministries and government</p> <p>2 organizations?</p> <p>3 A. I see that.</p> <p>4 Q. Does that refresh your recollection that that's where it</p> <p>5 was distributed?</p> <p>6 A. No. I have no idea.</p> <p>7 Q. Did you spend much time at ministries and government</p> <p>8 organizations during your years living in Ramallah and</p> <p>9 Bethlehem?</p> <p>10 A. No.</p> <p>11 Q. The Palestinian Media Map also reports that the</p> <p>12 newspaper has a remarkable reception in poor areas of</p> <p>13 the Gaza Strip, the Governate of Hebron, Jenin and</p> <p>14 Tulkarem; do you see that?</p> <p>15 A. I see that.</p> <p>16 Q. Do you have any reason to doubt that that's true?</p> <p>17 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>18 A. I have no evidence that would support this claim.</p> <p>19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>20 Q. Do you have any evidence that would rebut it?</p> <p>21 A. Insofar as I spent some time in Hebron, Jenin and</p> <p>22 Tulkarem, I do not recall Al-Hayat al-Jadida being</p> <p>23 remarkably well received.</p> <p>24 Q. Did you conduct a study on that subject?</p> <p>25 A. I did not conduct a survey of Palestinian newspapers.</p>
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<p>1 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>2 A. Again, I don't know what official relationship it may</p> <p>3 have had. I had a sense of how Palestinians regarded</p> <p>4 that newspaper as being reflective of the PA.</p> <p>5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>6 Q. Reflective of the official views of the PA?</p> <p>7 A. As I said, I understood Palestinians understood this</p> <p>8 newspaper to be affiliated or reflective of --</p> <p>9 I understood that Palestinians believed that newspaper</p> <p>10 to be associated with the PA.</p> <p>11 Q. Al-Hayat al-Jadida was distributed primarily at the</p> <p>12 ministries and government organizations; is that true?</p> <p>13 A. I don't know.</p> <p>14 Q. Why don't we look at page 75 of the media map in front</p> <p>15 of you; let's see if we can find out what they say about</p> <p>16 it.</p> <p>17 Do you see the entry on Al-Hayat al-Jadida in the</p> <p>18 Palestinian Media Map?</p> <p>19 A. Yes.</p> <p>20 Q. They say that Al-Hayat al-Jadida is partially funded by</p> <p>21 the government; do you see that?</p> <p>22 A. Yes.</p> <p>23 Q. Do you know whether that's true or false?</p> <p>24 A. I do not know.</p> <p>25 Q. Do you see they are reporting Al-Hayat al-Jadida is</p>	<p>1 Q. In -- in your fieldwork, did you discuss Al-Hayat</p> <p>2 al-Jadida with your interview subjects?</p> <p>3 A. I discussed with my interview subjects their conception</p> <p>4 of news media generally.</p> <p>5 Q. What impressions did you form about Al-Hayat al-Jadida?</p> <p>6 A. My impression was that this was not a widely consulted</p> <p>7 newspaper.</p> <p>8 Q. At least not among those that you interviewed?</p> <p>9 A. Among these who I interviewed, and according to those</p> <p>10 who I interviewed, their own assessment of their</p> <p>11 society.</p> <p>12 Q. Did you -- do you have any idea of why the Palestinian</p> <p>13 Authority -- I'm sorry; let me reframe that question.</p> <p>14 It wasn't a good one.</p> <p>15 Do you have any idea why Al-Hayat al-Jadida is</p> <p>16 considered the unofficial mouthpiece of the Palestinian</p> <p>17 Authority?</p> <p>18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>19 A. I don't know.</p> <p>20 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>21 Q. Did you ever look at a newspaper called Al-Shahada?</p> <p>22 A. Not to my recollection.</p> <p>23 Q. Do you know what "Al-Shahada" means?</p> <p>24 A. Yes.</p> <p>25 Q. What does it mean?</p>

1 A. "Martyrs."

2 Q. Did you ever look at a newspaper called "Watani"?

3 A. Watani?

4 Q. Watani.

5 A. Not to my recollection.

6 Q. Do you know what "Watani" means?

7 A. Watani? Yes.

8 Q. What does it mean?

9 A. It would mean "nationalist," or "nationalistic."

10 Q. Have you ever heard of either of those two publications?

11 A. Not to my recollection.

12 Q. You said in your report -- well, let's get your report,  
13 so we can be specific.

14 MR. YALOWITZ: So we'll mark as Allen deposition exhibit 2  
15 the report of Dr. Lori Allen.

16 (Exhibit 2 marked for identification.)

17 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

18 Q. Okay. Do you have your report in front of you?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. And let's just make sure that it is what it purports to  
21 be; take a moment and glance over it. I'll represent to  
22 you that I believe it to be your report.

23 Does it look like your report?

24 A. It does.

25 Q. Okay. So I was going to ask you about something you

1 wrote on page 14.

2 Are you there?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. You wrote that Marcus cited some examples from Al-Quds,  
5 Al-Ayyam and Al-Hayat al-Jadida.

6 Do you see where I am?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And you note that only a small percentage of  
9 Palestinians considered these newspapers to be  
10 trustworthy sources of information?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Can you estimate that percentage?

13 A. I did not conduct quantitative research and was not in  
14 the business of producing percentages. I concluded from  
15 my research that the vast majority of Palestinians did  
16 not regard these newspapers to be trustworthy or useful,  
17 or -- and I concluded that most people didn't really  
18 read these newspapers as their main or even secondary  
19 source of information.

20 Q. By the way, did you ever note people sharing newspapers  
21 during your years living in Ramallah and Bethlehem?

22 A. Yes, insofar as one newspaper might be in a family.

23 Q. Did -- did -- when you say "the vast majority," can  
24 you -- can you give us some sense of what ballpark  
25 you're in there?

1 A. I never met a Palestinian who I talked to about media  
2 consumption who said that these newspapers were  
3 important sources of information to them. To the  
4 contrary, many people were critical, if not dismissive,  
5 of these newspapers as sources of information.

6 Q. Would you -- can you give us any percentage at all? Do  
7 you think it's zero percent? Do you think there were no  
8 -- there was not one person who found them to be  
9 credible?

10 A. It is rare for any society to be of one single opinion  
11 on any subject, so I wouldn't venture to say zero  
12 percent or 100 percent about anything.

13 Q. So can you give us anywhere in between that you would  
14 place the --

15 A. As I said, the vast majority -- I mean, I don't recall  
16 speaking to anyone who believed these newspapers to be  
17 credible sources of information. Moreover, the majority  
18 of news consumption that I observed and that I talked to  
19 people about was satellite TV, and sometimes local news  
20 stations.

21 Q. You mentioned in your report that the style and content  
22 of news coverage was very similar across all news  
23 sources that you reviewed; is that right?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Was that something that you looked at this year, or were

1 you going from memory of your time in --

2 A. I believe that was --

3 Q. -- Ramallah and Bethlehem?

4 A. That was a conclusion I reached at the time of my  
5 research.

6 Q. Is that something you studied at the time?

7 A. It was part of what I was reviewing.

8 Q. And -- and how did you study the question?

9 A. I reviewed -- I reviewed some local papers and other  
10 publications on a regular basis; I watched TV with  
11 people in their homes; I watched TV from a variety of  
12 channels on my own and tried to consume media in ways  
13 that were similar to the people that I was doing  
14 research with -- with the exception that I was often  
15 buying and reviewing some local newspapers, which most  
16 people did not do.

17 Q. Did you -- did you watch sermons on PATV?

18 A. I may have come across them. They were not something  
19 that I specifically focused on.

20 Q. Have you -- did you -- you read Marcus's report; right?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Did you see he quoted some sermons that seemed  
23 inciteful -- seemed to contain incitement?

24 A. I recall that Marcus made the argument that some  
25 religious sermons were inciteful.

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1 Q. I guess that would be with a "C," not an "S"; right?

2 A. I believe so.

3 Q. All right. And did you read the text of any of those

4 sermons?

5 A. I read what was in Marcus's report, and --

6 Q. Did you watch the video that was attached as an exhibit

7 to his report?

8 A. No, I didn't.

9 Q. Based on what you saw, did you think that any of the

10 sermons he quoted contained incitement?

11 A. Can I see what specifically you're referring to?

12 Q. Sure.

13 (Discussion off the record.)

14 (Exhibit 3 marked for identification.)

15 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

16 Q. So I was -- let me direct to you page 25 of Marcus's

17 report.

18 Do you see there's a large block quote in the middle

19 that's a translation of something from Dr. Muhammad

20 Ibrahim Madi?

21 A. I see that the report has text that claims that it was

22 translation from Muhammad Ibrahim Madi.

23 Q. Do you know who that is, Muhammad Ibrahim Madi?

24 A. No.

25 MR. YALOWITZ: So -- should we play the audio?

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1 MS. McMILLAN: Sure.

2 BY BY MR. YALOWITZ:

3 Q. Would -- would it be helpful for you to listen to the

4 audio?

5 A. That depends on what you're talking to me about.

6 Q. Well, I just want to ask you some questions about the

7 substance of it. So why don't you take a moment and

8 read Marcus's quote, and then we'll play the audio file

9 for you, and then I can ask you some questions about

10 this, as -- this quotation, as it relates to incitement.

11 Have you had a chance to read that text?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Okay, let's see if we can play the audio file for you.?

14 MR. HILL: So since it's going to be in Arabic, do you want

15 to make a representation about -- is it just the Arabic

16 version of the English that's on page 25? Is it the

17 entire sermon? Is it --

18 MS. McMILLAN: I believe there's translations on the audio.

19 MR. YALOWITZ: So we'll be able to --

20 MR. HILL: So we'll follow it in English?

21 MR. YALOWITZ: We'll be able to follow along.

22 MR. HILL: Okay.

23 MS. McMILLAN: I believe.

24 MR. YALOWITZ: Perhaps.

25 (Audio played.)

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1 MS. McMILLAN: No, there's -- there's not a translation; I'm

2 sorry.

3 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay. So what we're -- what we're playing is

4 what we believe to be an audio file that matches this

5 text.

6 Q. We'll let you listen to it, Dr. Allen, and then we can

7 perhaps ask some productive questions.

8 A. I believe the beginning that you just played is not in

9 this text.

10 (Audio played.)

11 THE WITNESS: Can you pause it? That is not this text.

12 MR. HILL: For the record, I heard "Israeli" and

13 "American," which doesn't appear on the text of 25, so

14 it might be a different thing.

15 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay.

16 THE WITNESS: We can go from the text.

17 MR. YALOWITZ: Why don't we go from the text.

18 Q. Let's assume that it's an accurate translation --

19 A. Of something.

20 Q. -- of what it purports to be, which is a sermon. Do

21 you -- can you make that assumption?

22 A. I am reading what is reported here by Marcus, that this

23 is the translation of a speech by Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim

24 Madi.

25 Q. All right. And we've -- we've just demonstrated -- the

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1 one thing we've just demonstrated is that we don't seem

2 to have the original; fair to say?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. So -- so what I'm asking you to assume is that it is

5 accurately translated.

6 A. Okay.

7 Q. That's an assumption we're making.

8 And based on that assumption, do you think that it

9 is a -- a sermon that contains incitement?

10 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation for the

11 assumptions. And I'll also note the objection that

12 there is an ellipsis in the text on page 25, so we don't

13 have the entire -- even portion of the sermon, and

14 obviously Dr. Allen does not have the entire sermon.

15 But she can respond to the best of her ability in light

16 of those objections.

17 A. I don't know what -- "incitement" refers to something

18 that is said or conveyed with the -- as far as

19 I understand it, with the intention of producing certain

20 kinds of actions, or that has the result of certain

21 kinds of actions. And I have no basis on which to make

22 any kind of analysis about what this text or speech was

23 intended to do. I have no basis of -- on which to

24 analyze how or whether this text or speech was received

25 or understood or interpreted by anyone.

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1 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

2 Q. So do you think this is a -- do you think these are  
3 reasonable things to put on television, these  
4 statements?

5 A. I don't know, again, the context in which this speech or  
6 text was put on TV.

7 Q. Does it seem like this is a -- a person who is  
8 encouraging peace and reconciliation?

9 A. I am unable to infer the intentions or expectations of  
10 the person who allegedly said or wrote this text.

11 Q. Really? You think that it might be that somebody  
12 writes: "We blow them up in Hadera, we blow them up in  
13 Tel-Aviv and in Netanya through the mastery of Allah" --  
14 "though the mastery that Allah placed us upon this  
15 riff-raff," you think that that might be somebody  
16 encouraging peace and reconciliation?

17 MR. HILL: Objection, argumentative.

18 A. In my research, I try to understand what people say, why  
19 they say it in a particular context. Because I don't  
20 have that context and did not speak with this Dr. Madi,  
21 I cannot draw any conclusion about the desires for peace  
22 and reconciliation that may or may not have been  
23 harbored in his heart and thoughts.

24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

25 Q. And is the same true of the editorial staff at PATV who

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1 allowed this to be shown on PATV: You have no basis to  
2 draw any conclusions about their motivations?

3 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

4 A. I didn't --

5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

6 Q. I'm sorry?

7 A. I did not talk to them about their editorial policy.

8 Q. And so a moment ago you said you had no basis to reach  
9 a conclusion about Dr. Madi; do you remember you said  
10 that?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And is that also true of the editorial staff of PATV?

13 A. What are you asking me?

14 Q. Do you have a basis to reach a conclusion about the  
15 motivations of the editorial staff of PATV?

16 MR. HILL: Objection, vague. Do you mean as to this  
17 particular piece, or do you mean it in the very broad  
18 sense you've asked it?

19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

20 Q. You can answer.

21 MR. HILL: She can respond.

22 A. Again, my -- my research, and my research method,  
23 involves collecting and analyzing a variety of forms of  
24 representation; and on the basis of a broad variety of  
25 form of representation during the Second Intifada,

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1 I could draw conclusions about the nature of

2 Palestinian -- general Palestinian attitudes towards the  
3 occupation, and general attitudes towards what they  
4 wanted out of a political future.

5 So the specific motivations behind PA editorial  
6 staff, I do not have a basis for providing analysis.

7 Q. Okay. Thank you.

8 Now I want to show you an article from Al-Hayat  
9 al-Jadida, and this is from May 18th, 2001.

10 MR. YALOWITZ: We'll mark it as Allen 3.

11 MR. HILL: 4.

12 MR. YALOWITZ: Fine. We'll mark it as Allen 4, rather than  
13 as Allen 3, second so numbered.

14 (Exhibit 4 marked for identification.)

15 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

16 Q. So do you have Allen 4 before you?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. I would like to -- you should feel free to read whatever  
19 portion of it you'd like, but I'd like to direct your  
20 attention to a paragraph on the second page. And the  
21 paragraph is in the left-hand column, and it's one, two  
22 -- the third full paragraph.

23 Do you have that?

24 A. The paragraph that begins (Arab spoken)?

25 Q. Does the paragraph begin (Arab spoken)?

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1 (Arab spoken.)

2 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay. We're together on that. The linguists  
3 are together on that.

4 Q. Just let me know when you've read that paragraph.

5 A. The text is smudged, and there's a -- a line of black  
6 through it that makes it not completely legible to me.

7 Q. All right. I'm -- I'm going to read a translation that  
8 I have.

9 A. Okay.

10 Q. And I'll ask you if you believe it's accurate:

11 "The decisive battle in which Muslims shall win is  
12 certainly coming" --

13 A. Sorry, can you tell me where in the paragraph you're  
14 beginning that translation?

15 Q. I can't, but my consultant probably can.

16 A. Tell me again the first line you think you have.

17 Q. Sure:

18 "The decisive battle in which Muslims shall win is  
19 certainly coming."

20 A. I don't see it yet in this paragraph.

21 Q. How about "The day of judgment": Do you see a sentence  
22 beginning with "The day of judgment ...."

23 A. If you give me a moment. It may be that the sentence  
24 you --

25 Q. May have been earlier?



<p style="text-align: right;">Page 73</p> <p>1 A. I think it may be later.</p> <p>2 Why don't you proceed with what you think you have.</p> <p>3 Q. Sure.</p> <p>4 "The day of judgment shall not come to pass until</p> <p>5 the" --</p> <p>6 A. Is this after the line about the -- the Muslims coming?</p> <p>7 Q. Yes.</p> <p>8 A. Uh-huh.</p> <p>9 Q. "The day of judgment shall not come to pass until the</p> <p>10 believers defeat the descendants of monkeys and pigs and</p> <p>11 annihilate them."</p> <p>12 Do you see that line in the text?</p> <p>13 A. Yeah -- yes.</p> <p>14 Q. And then the text goes on:</p> <p>15 "Muslim Abu Daoud and Ahmed mention that Abu Haraya</p> <p>16 heard the prophet, may Allah's blessings and peace be</p> <p>17 upon him, saying the day of judgment shall not come to</p> <p>18 pass until the Muslims fight against the Jews."</p> <p>19 Do you see that line?</p> <p>20 A. Yes.</p> <p>21 Q. And then it goes on, and it says:</p> <p>22 "The Muslims shall kill the Jews, and the Jews shall</p> <p>23 hide behind stones and trees."</p> <p>24 Do you see that?</p> <p>25 A. Yes.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 75</p> <p>1 So I can understand an interpretation of this in</p> <p>2 which "the descendants of pigs" are referring to Jews.</p> <p>3 Q. And what do you understand Al-Hayat al-Jadida was trying</p> <p>4 to convey with that text?</p> <p>5 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>6 A. I do not know what Al-Hayat al-Jadida or who at Al-Hayat</p> <p>7 al-Jadida was trying to convey -- I don't know who chose</p> <p>8 to print this, so I can't say.</p> <p>9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>10 Q. Did you read that article when it came out in 2001?</p> <p>11 A. Not that I recall.</p> <p>12 Q. Is that -- how did you describe your use of newspapers?</p> <p>13 Did you use the word "triangulation," or was that my</p> <p>14 interpretation of what you were saying?</p> <p>15 A. I said that collection of other documents and data was</p> <p>16 part of the process of triangulation.</p> <p>17 Q. So -- but -- but that article was not one that you</p> <p>18 considered when you were reaching your opinions and</p> <p>19 rendering your report?</p> <p>20 A. No. I wasn't looking at -- I was looking at, generally,</p> <p>21 coverage of Intifada events, and looking at how</p> <p>22 suffering was being conveyed.</p> <p>23 Q. Did -- did you read the report of Marcus before you</p> <p>24 issued your report?</p> <p>25 A. Yes.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 74</p> <p>1 Q. Do you understand the text to be referring to Jews as</p> <p>2 descendants of monkeys and pigs?</p> <p>3 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>4 A. I -- I'm not sure what -- I'm not sure that there's only</p> <p>5 one way to read the text. Could you repeat your</p> <p>6 question?</p> <p>7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>8 Q. The question is: Do you understand the text to be</p> <p>9 referring to the Jewish people as descendants of monkeys</p> <p>10 and pigs?</p> <p>11 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>12 A. As I said, it's not -- it's not totally clear in this</p> <p>13 paragraph.</p> <p>14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>15 Q. How do you understand -- who do you understand the</p> <p>16 reference to "descendants of monkeys" -- to "descendants</p> <p>17 of monkeys and pigs" to be in that text?</p> <p>18 A. The paragraph is discussing the -- the paragraph is</p> <p>19 discussing when Muslims will be victorious. It</p> <p>20 discusses a hadith, a saying of the prophet, which other</p> <p>21 Islamic scholars believe to be correct, credible. It</p> <p>22 says that the -- "the time of victory of the believers</p> <p>23 over the descendants of pigs," and then it goes on to</p> <p>24 talk about the battle and the -- the fighting between</p> <p>25 Jews and Muslims.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 76</p> <p>1 Q. And did you read the exhibits?</p> <p>2 A. I looked at some exhibits.</p> <p>3 Q. You didn't look at this one, though; right?</p> <p>4 A. I -- I do believe I saw a translation of this.</p> <p>5 Q. Is -- is the translation fair, that I read?</p> <p>6 A. I believe so.</p> <p>7 Q. And you said that you saw how it could be understood</p> <p>8 that somebody reading that would think that the writer</p> <p>9 was using a derogatory term about the Jewish people;</p> <p>10 right?</p> <p>11 A. Yes.</p> <p>12 Q. And what other explanation do you have for that text?</p> <p>13 A. "Explanation"? You mean what other interpretation?</p> <p>14 Q. Right.</p> <p>15 A. Yeah, I was just pointing out that my -- that the text</p> <p>16 itself does not say, you know, explicitly that Jews are</p> <p>17 the descendants of pigs and monkeys, although this</p> <p>18 phrase is in a context of discussing Muslim victory, and</p> <p>19 it's in the context of discussing the fight between</p> <p>20 Muslims and Jews.</p> <p>21 So that's all I was trying to point out.</p> <p>22 Q. All right. Do you -- do you know of a town called</p> <p>23 Khaibar?</p> <p>24 A. Khaibar?</p> <p>25 Q. Khaibar. Are you --</p>



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1 A. I've heard it referred to.  
 2 Q. It's mentioned in the Koran?  
 3 A. That, I don't know.  
 4 Q. It's in -- it's in Saudi Arabia?  
 5 A. Okay. I don't know.  
 6 Q. Is that right? You don't -- do you know what happened  
 7 there?  
 8 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 9 You can respond if you want.  
 10 A. I don't know what happened there, no.  
 11 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 12 Q. Did -- did you ever hear that Mohammed killed the Jewish  
 13 residents of Khaibar?  
 14 A. I don't recall.  
 15 Q. That's not a reference that's familiar to you?  
 16 A. I don't know the specifics of the reference.  
 17 Q. By "Mohammed," I mean the -- the prophet.  
 18 A. The prophet Mohammed.  
 19 Q. It's not ringing any bells?  
 20 A. Well, there -- yes. I mean, I'm familiar with reference  
 21 to Khaibar as a place where Jews were killed. I don't  
 22 know the specifics of who was thought to -- believed to  
 23 be responsible for it.  
 24 Q. When you were living in Ramallah and the West Bank, did  
 25 people ever talk about the story of Khaibar as reported

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1 in the Koran?  
 2 A. I never heard -- well, I don't recall hearing the story  
 3 of Khaibar.  
 4 Q. What do you -- what -- what's the basis for your  
 5 knowledge about Khaibar?  
 6 A. There was -- I heard on at least one occasion a -- a  
 7 chant during a demonstration, which was "Khaibar,  
 8 Khaibar ya yahud." And I don't recall the -- the end of  
 9 the -- of the chant.  
 10 Q. What does that mean, "ya yahud"?  
 11 A. What that means is "Khaibar, Khaibar" -- the name of  
 12 this place -- "Oh Jews."  
 13 Q. All right. Did you ever see on PATV a video with  
 14 references to Khaibar?  
 15 A. I don't recall.  
 16 MR. YALOWITZ: Do we have that video?  
 17 (Discussion off the record.)  
 18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 19 Q. I think you -- you mentioned -- or I asked you about the  
 20 exhibits to mark as the report; did you notice there was  
 21 a -- did you get the exhibits?  
 22 A. I received some -- I received some exhibits. I can't  
 23 recall specifically what. And --  
 24 Q. Did you -- did you get a DVD with videos?  
 25 A. I did, but I didn't review it.

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1 Q. Okay. That's what I was going to ask you.  
 2 All right. Did you ever notice that sporting events  
 3 were named after martyrs?  
 4 A. I did not attend or recall sporting -- sporting events  
 5 named after martyrs.  
 6 Q. Did you ever notice that town squares were named after  
 7 terrorists?  
 8 A. I don't know who you're referring to. I know that there  
 9 were references to places called "Martyrs Passing," or  
 10 maybe "Martyr Street."  
 11 Q. Well, martyrs, I think you -- you wrote in your report  
 12 that the word "martyr" is -- is one of somewhat broad  
 13 application; right?  
 14 A. Yes.  
 15 Q. So "Martyr Street" doesn't really teach us much about  
 16 what the meaning of the -- what the intention of  
 17 somebody naming the place "Martyr Street" is; right?  
 18 A. My interpretation was that first of all, Martyr Square  
 19 or Martyr Street was not necessarily an official name,  
 20 but it's how certain areas came to be referred to by  
 21 regular people, because they were locations in which  
 22 many people had died, or they were considered to be  
 23 dangerous locations. It does teach us that martyrdom --  
 24 I'll end there.  
 25 Q. Okay.

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1 MS. McMILLAN: We don't have it; I'm sorry.  
 2 MR. YALOWITZ: All right. We'll come back to it.  
 3 Q. There were also town squares named for individuals;  
 4 right?  
 5 A. Such as ... ?  
 6 Q. For example, did you ever hear of an individual named  
 7 Raed Nazal?  
 8 A. No.  
 9 Q. Do you know who that is?  
 10 A. No.  
 11 Q. About how Abu al-Assir: Did you ever hear him referred  
 12 to by that name?  
 13 A. I don't recall that name.  
 14 Q. And did you ever hear of an individual named Dalal  
 15 al-Maghribi?  
 16 A. Yes.  
 17 Q. And who was that?  
 18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 19 A. She was -- I believe that she is someone that  
 20 Palestinians believe to be involved in resistance to the  
 21 occupation.  
 22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 23 Q. Was she a suicide bomber?  
 24 A. I don't know.  
 25 Q. How about Wafa Idris: Was she a suicide bomber?

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<p>1 MR. HILL: Objection, asked and answered, lack of 2 foundation. 3 A. I know that she was reported in -- widely reported in 4 the news media to have been a suicide bomber. 5 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 6 Q. And Dalal al-Maghribi: Is it your understanding that 7 she participated in an attack on Israeli civilians? 8 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 9 A. I don't know. 10 Q. Are there streets or squares named after Dalal 11 al-Maghribi? 12 A. Not that I know of. 13 Q. Did you ever hear of -- I may have asked you this, but 14 you never heard of any sporting events were named after 15 people who attacked civilians? 16 A. Not that I know of. 17 Q. Why don't we come back to the video about Khaibar. 18 (Video played.) 19 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 20 Q. Is that a -- did you have -- did you have a chance to 21 watch that video we just played? 22 A. Just now. 23 Q. Is that the first time you've ever seen it? 24 A. Yes. 25 Q. Do you -- you did some work about mothers in -- mothers</p>	<p>1 context of armed conflict? 2 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 3 A. In the context of the Second Intifada, I believe this to 4 be a reference to -- this to be a reference to the fight 5 against occupation. 6 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 7 Q. And do you think it's a -- a reference to using violence 8 to fight against occupation? 9 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 10 A. I think it depends on the context in which such 11 a statement would be made or heard. 12 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 13 Q. So, like, a video of a mom giving her kids rifles, do 14 you think that's -- that context suggests that whoever 15 aired that video was encouraging violence against Jewish 16 people? 17 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 18 A. My -- based on what I understood of the context of the 19 Second Intifada, and the occupation, and how 20 Palestinians were representing their situation and 21 seeking to end the occupation, I would understand that 22 video to be a reflection of the values that Palestinians 23 had for fighting the occupation. 24 Q. So -- 25 MR. YALOWITZ: I'm sorry, Fiona, could I just have the</p>
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<p>1 of suicide bombers; is that right? Or mothers of 2 Shahid, maybe, Shahada? 3 A. I wrote an article about mothers of martyrs. 4 Q. And did -- did -- was that typical of the way mothers 5 of martyrs were portrayed in Palestinian society, that 6 video? 7 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 8 A. In my research, there was a variety of ways in which 9 mothers of martyrs portrayed themselves and were 10 portrayed by others. 11 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 12 Q. Did you -- when you were living in Ramallah and 13 Bethlehem, did you see images on television of mothers 14 handing their children rifles? 15 A. No. 16 Q. Did -- and does that video give you any context for 17 Khaibar, what it meant? 18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 19 A. As I said, what I understood was that Palestinians 20 understood Khaibar to be a reference to a place, 21 I believe, where Jews were killed. I don't know by 22 whom. 23 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 24 Q. Does -- do you think a -- what do you think is intended 25 to be conveyed by people who refer to Khaibar in the</p>	<p>1 question back. 2 (Record read.) 3 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 4 Q. Right. So the question, I understand that there -- 5 I agree with you that there's an element of resistance 6 in that video. My question is: Is there an element of 7 violence? 8 MR. HILL: Objection, vague. 9 You can respond. 10 A. The -- the answer to your question is -- your original 11 question -- is no, this was not an encouragement of 12 violence against the Jewish people, I don't think. 13 I think it was a reflection of the appreciation of 14 people who fought the occupation, including people who 15 fought the occupation through the use of violence. 16 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 17 Q. So sitting here today, I think we've agreed you're not 18 familiar with the way the story of Khaibar is portrayed 19 in the Koran; right? 20 A. Correct. 21 Q. So I'm going to ask you about this video when we're 22 together in New York, in front of the jury, and 23 hopefully by then you will have familiarized yourself 24 with the story of Khaibar. 25 So do you think that it is an -- an encouragement of</p>

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1 violence when a political leader appears in public  
2 holding a submachine gun?  
3 A. Is it an encouragement of violence when a political  
4 leader holds a submachine gun? I -- I don't know.  
5 Q. So, like, have you ever seen an image of President Obama  
6 holding a submachine gun?  
7 A. No.  
8 Q. How about any of the politicians out there in Kansas  
9 City, where you grew up: Any of them ever appear in  
10 public with their submachine guns?  
11 A. I've seen former President Bush in an airman's uniform  
12 coming off, I think, an aircraft carrier.  
13 Q. Mm-hmm. And that was a warlike image; right?  
14 A. I think, in the context in which that image appeared, it  
15 was an effort of the -- the presidency to claim a --  
16 a victory.  
17 Q. "Mission Accomplished"? That was the famous "Mission  
18 Accomplished" photo?  
19 A. Yeah. And that was not, I don't think, an encouragement  
20 to violence; I think it was a -- in the Bush efforts,  
21 a celebration of what he or his regime thought was  
22 a victory.  
23 Q. A military victory?  
24 A. Mm-hmm.  
25 Q. Right?

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1 A. I believe so.  
2 Q. So did you ever see Yasser Arafat in public?  
3 A. I saw him on TV. I never saw him in person.  
4 Q. Did you ever see him holding his submachine gun in  
5 public?  
6 A. I never saw him personally, and I don't recall seeing  
7 him holding a gun.  
8 Q. All right.  
9 MR. YALOWITZ: Let's -- how long have we been going? Is it  
10 time for a break or should we --  
11 MR. HILL: We've been going for an hour and 20.  
12 MR. YALOWITZ: All right.  
13 Q. Would you like to have a break?  
14 A. I'm happy to have a break.  
15 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay. Great. We'll -- we'll pause for  
16 a little while.  
17 (A break was taken.)  
18 (Exhibit 5 marked for identification.)  
19 MR. YALOWITZ:  
20 Q. So while we were on break, we marked as Allen exhibit 5  
21 an article by Anthony Cordesman; do you have that before  
22 you, Dr. Allen?  
23 A. Yes.  
24 Q. And I don't have written down where you cited this, but  
25 I can represent to you that the reason I found it is

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1 because you've cited it. Does it look familiar to you?  
2 A. Not in this form. It may have been something I looked  
3 at online; it would be helpful to know the footnote.  
4 Q. Sure. Why don't we -- why don't we have a race; we'll  
5 see who finds it first.  
6 Footnote 112.  
7 A. Thank you.  
8 Q. Do you see the reference in context?  
9 A. Yes.  
10 Q. And is this -- is this an article that you were familiar  
11 with before you wrote your report?  
12 A. I don't believe so.  
13 Q. You relied on it for a statement of certain facts; is  
14 that fair to say?  
15 A. Yes.  
16 Q. All right. And the fact that I wanted to ask you -- did  
17 you notice that he had -- well, let me ask a different  
18 question: Did you notice that he had a lengthy  
19 chronology of different events that took place, like,  
20 starting on page 9?  
21 A. I see that.  
22 Q. Did you find him to be a reliable reporter of the facts?  
23 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
24 A. I was not referring to his draft for chronological  
25 facts, so I have no assessment.

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1 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
2 Q. All right. Did you read the chronology?  
3 A. I doubt it, because that's not what I was referring to  
4 this report for.  
5 Q. Could you look with me on page 18.  
6 A. Yes.  
7 Q. Do you see the entry for December 4th?  
8 A. Yes.  
9 Q. The -- Cordesman is reporting that:  
10 "Yasser Arafat is seen in the public for the first  
11 time since 1994 holding his sub-machine gun."  
12 Do you see that?  
13 A. I see that reference, yes.  
14 Q. Does -- does that refresh your recollection as to  
15 whether Arafat appeared in public with his submachine  
16 gun?  
17 A. What I recall is the story of the gun and the olive  
18 branch at the UN, which was I believe when Arafat agreed  
19 to -- I don't know this history, but I believe it's when  
20 he decided to recognize Israel again, or decided -- or  
21 perhaps it was when he made some speech in the UN.  
22 There was a reference to him saying, "I come with an  
23 olive branch and a gun."  
24 I do not recall this image or the image referred to  
25 by Cordesman.

Q. So let's just talk about this story of the olive branch and the gun. Just tell me what you remember about that story. Take -- we'll come back to the December 4th incident, but just the olive branch and the gun.

A. What I think I recall -- I mean, and now I may be getting confused -- is that Arafat made a speech or some sort of representation at the UN, where he said he's -- or I mean, was this when he made the peace in -- in '93 with Rabin -- I actually don't recall.

My first thought was that it was something at the UN where he said, "I'm coming with the olive branch of peace and the gun, and it's up to us to decide which one wins," or something like that. This is a vague recollection.

Q. So we'll have to figure this out before we see each other again in New York.

Do you see that -- your -- your sense is that the olive branch speech was at the time that Arafat renounced violence and agreed to recognize Israel's legitimacy?

A. That's what I thought.

Q. That sounds consistent with the symbolism of an olive branch; right?

A. Yes.

Q. And you see Cordesman -- and by the way, just

chronologically, you recall that was in the '93 time frame; is that right?

A. No.

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. No. This is what I don't recall.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. Do you know when the first Oslo Accord was?

A. The -- the peace was in '93.

Q. So then do you see Cordesman is writing that for the first time since 1994, Arafat is appearing in public with his submachine gun?

A. Yes.

Q. That seems inconsistent with appearing with an olive branch; right?

MR. HILL: Objection. Lack of foundation, out of context. The witness can answer.

A. I understand that the gun, in Palestinian society, is a symbol of resistance to occupation.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. And -- and what do you understand the olive branch to be a symbol of?

A. The olive branch is a symbol of resolution and peace.

Q. So which was Arafat trying to convey by appearing with a gun at the beginning of the Second Intifada?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. I don't know Arafat's intentions or motivations. As I said, I understand generally the gun to be -- or guns, generally -- to represent resistance to Israeli occupation.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. Was Arafat an important figure in the West Bank and Gaza in the year 2000?

A. An important figure? Yes, he was.

Q. Would it be fair to say he was by that time iconic?

A. Yes, I would say so.

Q. Do you think he understood that?

A. Yes.

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

Go ahead.

A. I don't know, but I would guess so.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. So do you think that his appearing in public with a gun for the first time since 1994 was accidental?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. I don't know what you mean by "accidental."

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. Well, let me ask it a different way, then.

A. Please.

Q. Do you think that when Arafat appeared with a gun for first time since 1994, at the beginning of the Second

Intifada, he was doing so with an understanding that that -- that that act would be understood as encouraging resistance?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. I would guess that he knew that the Palestinian people appreciated and valued resistance to the occupation, including at this period. I would guess that he knew that most Palestinians saw guns as a symbol of resistance to occupation.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. And -- and not just peaceful resistance, but violent resistance; right?

A. Violent resistance to occupation, yes.

Q. Did you, when you were in -- by the way, you've returned to the West Bank and Gaza since you did your fieldwork in February of '03; right?

A. Correct.

Q. How often have you returned?

A. I returned every year or two, approximately, probably every two years, up until four years ago, four or five years ago.

Q. And since then --

A. But I haven't been since.

Q. When's the last time you were in Gaza?

A. It probably would have been 2002 or 2003.

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<p>1 Q. Did -- did you -- do you keep up with Palestinian media?</p> <p>2 A. Do I regularly review Palestinian media now? No.</p> <p>3 Q. Did you ever see, either when you were living there --</p> <p>4 or I guess it would only be when you were living there,</p> <p>5 because -- have you watched Palestinian TV since you've</p> <p>6 left Ramallah?</p> <p>7 A. As in PATV?</p> <p>8 Q. Yes.</p> <p>9 A. No.</p> <p>10 Q. No --</p> <p>11 A. I have not --</p> <p>12 Q. -- you've not looked at it? Okay.</p> <p>13 When you were living there, did you ever see</p> <p>14 television broadcasts about members of Palestinian</p> <p>15 Authority security forces who were in Israeli prisons?</p> <p>16 A. I recall seeing -- I recall seeing coverage, I believe,</p> <p>17 of -- I'm trying to think.</p> <p>18 I think I recall seeing call-in shows between --</p> <p>19 either Palestinians who were in prison or in -- exiled</p> <p>20 from their home town, where the family would talk to</p> <p>21 those people.</p> <p>22 Q. And -- and how did -- how did those television -- these</p> <p>23 are on PATV?</p> <p>24 A. I don't recall specifically what channels they would</p> <p>25 have been broadcast on.</p>	<p>1 A. Yes, I -- well, trying to think of specific coverage I</p> <p>2 may have seen -- I've read news reports about her and</p> <p>3 her family.</p> <p>4 Q. Have you seen news items praising her as heroic?</p> <p>5 A. I don't recalling specific instances.</p> <p>6 Q. Do you -- what do you understand her to have done?</p> <p>7 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. You can respond</p> <p>8 again.</p> <p>9 A. As I said before, I know that she was widely reported in</p> <p>10 the news to have been responsible for a suicide bombing.</p> <p>11 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>12 Q. Why don't we -- shall we look at -- well, why don't we</p> <p>13 wait until our Arabic source gets back to look at</p> <p>14 a document.</p> <p>15 Did you -- ah, here he is; okay. Why don't we look</p> <p>16 at a document we'll mark as Allen 6.</p> <p>17 (Exhibit 6 marked for identification.)</p> <p>18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>19 Q. Do you have Allen 6?</p> <p>20 Can you tell what newspaper this is from?</p> <p>21 A. I don't see the title of the newspaper on this article.</p> <p>22 MR. MARCUS: Left-hand side.</p> <p>23 A. Could be from Ayyam Hursdeniyen, could be from Al Ayyam,</p> <p>24 but it doesn't say -- it doesn't have the masthead of</p> <p>25 Al-Ayyam.</p>
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<p>1 Q. How did the television shows portray the prisoners?</p> <p>2 A. These kinds of shows that I'm thinking about right now</p> <p>3 were mainly efforts to allow families to express their</p> <p>4 love and appreciation for the people who they couldn't</p> <p>5 be with.</p> <p>6 Q. Did they talk about the crimes that the prisoners had</p> <p>7 committed?</p> <p>8 A. On shows like this, alleged crimes or antioccupation</p> <p>9 activities, I don't recall those being a focus of these</p> <p>10 programs.</p> <p>11 Q. Did you ever see -- I think I may have asked you about</p> <p>12 some of these individuals before, but did you ever see</p> <p>13 a program about Majed El Masri?</p> <p>14 A. Not that I recall.</p> <p>15 Q. Or Abd-el Karim Aweis: Did you ever see a program about</p> <p>16 him?</p> <p>17 A. Not that I recall.</p> <p>18 Q. Did you ever see a program about Nassar al-Shawish?</p> <p>19 A. No.</p> <p>20 Q. And did you ever see a program about Abu Sharah?</p> <p>21 A. No.</p> <p>22 Q. Not that you recall?</p> <p>23 A. Not that I recall.</p> <p>24 Q. All right. Did you ever see any news coverage about</p> <p>25 Wafa Idris?</p>	<p>1 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>2 Q. All right. Do you recognize the image in the photograph</p> <p>3 on the -- on the side of that box there (Indicating)?</p> <p>4 A. I recognize this to be, I think, an image that was</p> <p>5 circulated of Wafa Idris.</p> <p>6 Q. And you should feel free to read anything in the article</p> <p>7 that you'd like, but I'd like to direct your attention</p> <p>8 to the second column, which is the column on the left --</p> <p>9 do I have that correct? It's the second column.</p> <p>10 MR. HILL: Are you asking whether the left-hand column is</p> <p>11 the second column?</p> <p>12 MR. YALOWITZ: Right.</p> <p>13 Q. The left-hand column is the second column; right?</p> <p>14 A. Yes.</p> <p>15 Q. Okay.</p> <p>16 A. Oh, sorry. I didn't follow. Yes.</p> <p>17 Q. And the third full paragraph, would you just read that</p> <p>18 and tell me what it says.</p> <p>19 A. The third full paragraph, that begins (Arabic spoken)?</p> <p>20 The third full paragraph, that begins (Arabic</p> <p>21 spoken)?</p> <p>22 (Discussion off the record.)</p> <p>23 MR. HILL: Are you asking her to translate it?</p> <p>24 MR. YALOWITZ: Yes.</p> <p>25 Q. If you could read it and tell me in English what it</p>



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means. You don't have to read it out loud; she won't be able to take it down.

A. Okay.

"In his role, Ziad Abu Ein, a member of the higher committee of the Fatah movement, said" -- (Arabic spoken) -- I'm not sure what (Arabic spoken) means -- said something about the heroism of Idris, a member of the Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades, connected to the movement"; i.e., referring to the movement, I suppose, of Fatah.

Q. Okay. Who is Ziad Abu Ein?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. I don't know.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. Do you -- do you know -- I'm sorry, did you say the movement committee of Fatah? Is that how he's referred to in the article?

A. No, I said he's referred to here as member of the higher committee -- the higher -- yeah, the higher committee, I believe.

Q. All right. And do you know what that is?

A. No.

Q. Do you -- do you know what he was intending to convey by praising the heroism of Wafa Idris?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. I do not know the intentions of Ziad Abu Ein in this

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that Ziad Abu Ein clarifies that the -- the struggle path will continue until the end of occupation, and that the blood of the martyrs will not go in vain.

So in this context, I understand this to be a statement of praise for people who are perceived to have been part of the struggle against occupation.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. So --

A. And it was a statement of appreciation for those who are perceived to have sacrificed themselves in that effort.

Q. So am I understanding -- let me -- let me just try to unpack that a little bit.

A. Okay.

Q. Okay? So what you just described is -- is people who were killed during the course of resistance to the occupation, some of whom engaged in violence against civilians, and others who did not; right?

MR. HILL: Objection. Lack of foundation, misstates the witness's testimony.

A. What are you asking me to confirm?

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. So -- so you described -- well, let me try it a little different way.

Would you agree that the article we're looking at includes praise of someone who committed violence

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instance.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. What do you understand would be perceived by people who read about a member of Fatah praising the heroism of Wafa Idris?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. You're asking me to surmise what people would understand from this statement, if it was made in this form? Is that what you're asking me to do?

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. Right. But that's part of what you did as your --

A. Indeed.

Q. -- as your work?

A. Yeah. I'm clarifying your question; that's all.

Q. Right.

MR. HILL: Same objection.

Go ahead.

A. I would understand that this was a statement of praise for resistance to the occupation.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. And would you understand it to be praise for resistance to the occupation in the form of violence directed at civilians?

MR. HILL: Same objection.

A. No, not necessarily, because the following line says

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against civilians?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. As I said, I know that it was reported that Wafa Idris was involved in a suicide bombing in which civilians were killed.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. And -- and so your opinion is that the praise of people who were killed in the context of the violence is not limited to a suicide bomber like Wafa Idris; right?

A. Correct.

Q. But at the same time, I think you would agree with me that the praise includes people who directed violence against civilians; right?

MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

A. There was general praise and appreciation for people who were seen to have been involved in acts of resistance against the occupation. Many people regarded, I think -- many people I think regarded violent acts of resistance to be praiseworthy and appropriate in the context of a belligerent military occupation.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. And they -- and when you say "many people," you understand many people in Palestinian society considered suicide bombing to be praiseworthy and appropriate; right?



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1 A. I understand that there were varying levels of popular  
2 support for suicide bombings, and I understand and write  
3 about the fact that there was also a great deal of  
4 internal debate and contention about the appropriateness  
5 or morality or immorality of suicide bombings.

6 Q. So -- so that's kind of not a debate that would be  
7 familiar to our jury; right?

8 A. I don't know.

9 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

10 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

11 Q. I mean, like, growing up in Kansas City, did they have  
12 debates about whether suicide bombing was okay?

13 MR. HILL: Objection. Argumentative.

14 A. No, there were no debates that I was aware of in Kansas  
15 City about suicide bombings, because Kansas City has not  
16 been under a belligerent military occupation in which  
17 some people feel that their only option for ending  
18 a belligerent military occupation is violent resistance.

19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

20 Q. And how about in New York City? You lived in New York  
21 City --

22 A. For about two years.

23 Q. -- from '03 to '05; is that right?

24 A. Correct.

25 Q. Did -- did you ever talk with anybody in New York City

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1 about suicide bombing?

2 A. Not that I recall.

3 Q. And it wasn't a subject of, like, debate and discourse  
4 whether that was okay; right?

5 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

6 You can respond.

7 A. No.

8 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

9 Q. So -- so -- and I think I asked you before about soccer  
10 tournaments named after suicide terrorists, and you said  
11 you weren't aware of any; is that right?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Why don't I show you a document and see if that rings  
14 any bells.

15 By the way, while we're getting the document, did  
16 you read in Marcus's report that he had collected press  
17 reports about soccer tournaments and other sporting  
18 events named after suicide terrorists?

19 A. If it was in the report, I read it.

20 Q. All right. We have a blowup of a document which I'll  
21 represent to you was attached as an exhibit to Marcus's  
22 report.

23 (Exhibit 7 marked for identification.)

24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

25 Q. Mr. Marcus attached this as exhibit 43A to his report.

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1 Does -- does that refer to a youth soccer tournament  
2 named after Wafa Idris?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Does that ring any bells as to naming of youth sporting  
5 events after suicide terrorists?

6 A. I was not at this event that's reported in this --  
7 whatever it is. I have no first-hand observation of  
8 a soccer tournament, but I see that it's reported in  
9 whatever this document is.

10 Q. Okay. And does it -- does it refresh your recollection  
11 that indeed there were sporting events named after  
12 Wafa Idris?

13 A. As I said, I have no particular recollection of a soccer  
14 tournament being so named.

15 Q. And sitting here today, no bells have been rung by  
16 looking at this?

17 A. Yeah, I mean, it -- it's certainly something that I came  
18 across in my research, that various events or places or  
19 occasions would be named after a martyr, and --

20 Q. What -- what do you think is perceived by naming youth  
21 sporting events after a woman who blew herself up on  
22 a crowded street amongst civilians?

23 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

24 The witness can respond.

25 A. I think that it is an expression of appreciation for

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1 people who are perceived by most Palestinians to have  
2 sacrificed themselves in an effort to end the  
3 occupation.

4 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

5 Q. It's a positive portrayal?

6 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

7 A. It is an expression of appreciation and a reflection or  
8 representation of the high values placed on resistance  
9 to occupation, including violent resistance to  
10 occupation.

11 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

12 Q. I want to show you one more document, which I think you  
13 may not have seen, from a newspaper called Al-Shuhada.

14 I think you said you don't know that --

15 A. I don't.

16 Q. -- publication; right?

17 Let's look at it and see what we have, and see if it  
18 is enlightening.

19 (Exhibit 8 marked for identification.)

20 MR. YALOWITZ: All right. This will be Allen 8.

21 Q. Do you have Allen 8 before you?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Have you ever seen it before?

24 A. Not that I recall, no.

25 Q. Do you know what it is?

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1 A. No, I don't.  
 2 Q. So bear with me.  
 3 Could you just read the -- on the -- on the first  
 4 page, there's a -- there's a big -- large print, which  
 5 looks like it probably says "Al-Shuhada"?  
 6 A. Al-Shuhada, yes.  
 7 Q. And then beneath it, there's sort of a little --  
 8 explanatory material. Can you just tell us what that  
 9 says?  
 10 A. It says that it is a monthly publication produced or  
 11 issued by the political -- I'm not -- I'm not sure what  
 12 (Arab spoken) means in this context, but the political  
 13 organization -- the forces of the border areas.  
 14 Q. I'm sorry, did you finish?  
 15 A. Yeah, I did.  
 16 Q. The word you said, (Arab spoken), do you think it might  
 17 mean "instructors" in this context?  
 18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 19 A. I -- I simply don't know, and I'm not familiar with this  
 20 publication, so ...  
 21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 22 Q. I'm sorry, so say again: Does it say who it's directed  
 23 to?  
 24 MR. HILL: Objection, asked and answered.  
 25 A. Not that I see in this phrasing. I -- I read.

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1 MR. MARCUS: (Arabic spoken).  
 2 A. But it says "directed to"; it says (Arabic spoken) --  
 3 oh, sorry. I thought that meant that it was issued by  
 4 the forces of the border areas. I guess it could mean  
 5 "political direction to."  
 6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 7 Q. "By," or "to"?  
 8 A. I'm not sure.  
 9 Q. Could be either; right?  
 10 A. If I were to see this in the context of my research,  
 11 I would ask a research assistant for assistance in  
 12 interpreting it.  
 13 Q. All right. Fair enough.  
 14 This is not a document that you -- you never saw  
 15 this publication when you were living in Ramallah or  
 16 Bethlehem; right?  
 17 A. It does not ring any bells.  
 18 Q. All right. And does -- does it appear to you to be  
 19 something internal to the Palestinian security forces?  
 20 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 21 A. I -- I do not know. I have no idea.  
 22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 23 Q. All right. Let's look at the -- let's look at the  
 24 masthead together.  
 25 Do you see this (Indicating)?

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1 A. This one?  
 2 Q. Yes.  
 3 A. Yes.  
 4 Q. Those are military people, aren't they?  
 5 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 6 A. Who are military people?  
 7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 8 Q. The individuals listed on the masthead.  
 9 MR. HILL: Same objection.  
 10 A. I know that (Arabic spoken) is a military rank, and it  
 11 mentions (Arabic spoken) at the end, and it mentions  
 12 First Lieutenant Muhlasen Erwah, and so on. So the  
 13 people listed here are listed as people with military  
 14 ranks.  
 15 And then there's a -- I think a photographer.  
 16 Q. And is there a table of contents on that page that we're  
 17 looking at?  
 18 A. Yes, I see that.  
 19 Q. And can you tell me what the lead article is?  
 20 A. It says the opening article -- it's listed in the table  
 21 of contents as "Opening Article."  
 22 Q. Does it say --  
 23 A. On page 1.  
 24 Q. Is there a -- I'm not sure I'm seeing it -- is there an  
 25 article that's entitled "The Jewish Peril"?

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1 A. Not listed in this table of contents, no.  
 2 Q. Maybe kind of up -- in the box in the upper left?  
 3 A. Oh, sorry, I wasn't looking up there.  
 4 If that says (Arabic spoken), that could mean "The  
 5 Jewish Danger."  
 6 Q. And then the subtitle of that article: Can you tell  
 7 what that is?  
 8 A. (Arabic spoken) -- I'm sorry, I can't read that text;  
 9 it's too small, and it's a calligraphy I can't  
 10 determine.  
 11 Q. Does -- does it appear to be "The Protocols of the  
 12 Elders of Zion"?  
 13 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 14 A. It could be that.  
 15 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 16 Q. Do you know what that is?  
 17 A. I --  
 18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 19 A. I know what it refers to.  
 20 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 21 Q. What is it?  
 22 A. As far as I know -- it's not a text that I've read, but  
 23 as far as I know, it is basically an antisemitic text.  
 24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 25 Q. Can you think of why a publication produced by PA

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1 military people would have an antisemitic text?  
 2 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation, misstates the  
 3 witness's testimony.  
 4 A. I don't know if this publication was produced by PA  
 5 military people. I don't know how or whether the  
 6 publication was read or produced. I can't say why, if  
 7 these were the people that did produce it, included some  
 8 version of this antisemitic text.  
 9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 10 Q. Did -- just turning back to the front page for a moment,  
 11 is it a fair translation to call this a monthly bulletin  
 12 published by Political Guidance for the Border Region  
 13 Forces?  
 14 A. That sounds reasonable.  
 15 Q. And turning back to the masthead, is it fair to say that  
 16 the editor in chief is Ahmad Ibrahim Hilles?  
 17 A. It's stated that way, yes.  
 18 Q. He's listed as the political commissioner for the border  
 19 region forces; is that right?  
 20 A. It says (Arabic spoken). (Arabic spoken) can also mean  
 21 "negotiator."  
 22 Q. So that would be one where you'd want some context from  
 23 someone?  
 24 A. I would have, yes.  
 25 Q. And then it lists somebody as doing production and

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1 coordination; is that right?  
 2 A. Yes.  
 3 Q. And just say who that is.  
 4 A. It's listed as nakib rah ad ek det.  
 5 Q. And do you know what a nakib is?  
 6 A. I believe that a nakib is -- the rankings of military in  
 7 -- even in English, I'm not always so sure about. So  
 8 "nakib," I believe, would be "major," or the one --  
 9 "captain"; I think maybe "captain."  
 10 Q. Can you tell me who the editorial board is, from the  
 11 masthead?  
 12 A. It says Mohammed Jarahada.  
 13 Q. And what's his rank?  
 14 A. So he's (Arabic spoken), which I believe is -- I believe  
 15 that's -- (Arabic spoken) is "lieutenant," so (Arabic  
 16 spoken) -- it's another military rank.  
 17 I can make some guesses if you want, but I know it's  
 18 a military rank.  
 19 Q. It's not necessary. It's not your field; fair to say?  
 20 A. Yes, it is fair to say.  
 21 Q. Do you understand the editorial board and the editor in  
 22 chief to be members of PA security forces?  
 23 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 24 A. I don't know who these people are.  
 25 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

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1 Q. Do you -- do you have -- I think -- do you have any --  
 2 any understanding at all of why they were putting out  
 3 this publication?  
 4 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 5 A. I do not.  
 6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 7 Q. And this publication was not something you considered  
 8 when you reached your conclusions and rendered your  
 9 report; right?  
 10 A. This is not something that I ever came across, nor is  
 11 it -- yeah, it's nothing I came across, so no.  
 12 Q. And "no" meaning you didn't consider it when you reached  
 13 your conclusions and rendered your report; right?  
 14 A. Oh, your report for you.  
 15 Q. Yeah.  
 16 A. I don't know. I didn't review this.  
 17 Q. And by the way, just looking back at the table of  
 18 contents, am I right that this -- do you have the table  
 19 of contents before you?  
 20 A. Yes.  
 21 Q. Do you see where they're referencing the Jewish peril?  
 22 A. Yes.  
 23 Q. And then at the very bottom, in quite small print, it  
 24 says something is -- do I have it right that that says  
 25 "Continued from what was published in the previous

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1 volume"?  
 2 A. Yes.  
 3 Q. All right.  
 4 A. Can I also just state that there are two tables of  
 5 contents on this page that are in different formats, and  
 6 it is not clear to me why one table of contents lists  
 7 articles on pages 1, 5, 11, 12, 14 and 35, and then a  
 8 separate table of contents lists something from  
 9 pages 12, 17, and I believe 25. It could be that these  
 10 are -- I mean, it's unclear to me.  
 11 Q. So -- so do you read popular magazines?  
 12 A. In -- where?  
 13 Q. In life.  
 14 A. At the hairdressers'.  
 15 Q. So have you ever read the table of contents of --  
 16 like -- I don't know what you might read; The Economist,  
 17 or something like that?  
 18 A. Probably, yes.  
 19 Q. And -- and you know how sometimes they have, like, their  
 20 regular articles listed in one table in the table of  
 21 contents, and then they put up higher sort of special  
 22 articles that might be of interest to the reader?  
 23 A. Perhaps.  
 24 Q. That might be what's going on here; right?  
 25 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

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1 A. I have no idea.  
 2 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 3 Q. Could be; right?  
 4 A. Lots of things --  
 5 MR. HILL: Same objection.  
 6 A. -- could be. Sure. Could be.  
 7 Q. Sure.  
 8 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay. I'm ready to pause for lunch, if you  
 9 are.  
 10 (Lunch break taken.)  
 11 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 12 Q. All right. Dr. Allen, are you expressing an opinion  
 13 that the Palestinian Authority and the PLO had no role  
 14 in perpetrating the terrorist attacks that are at the  
 15 core of our case?  
 16 A. That is not my contention in this report.  
 17 Q. So you wrote in your report on page 33:  
 18 "There is no evidence that the PA caused suicide  
 19 bombings."  
 20 What did you mean by that?  
 21 A. I said the Palestinian Authority was not responsible for  
 22 the suicide bombings.  
 23 Q. I'm sorry, let me just look -- make sure I have the  
 24 exact wording.  
 25 So do you see under -- under "D." the --

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1 A. Yes.  
 2 Q. -- second sentence:  
 3 "There is no evidence that the PA caused suicide  
 4 bombings"?  
 5 Do you see that?  
 6 A. Yes.  
 7 Q. What did you mean when you wrote that?  
 8 A. I meant that there -- I meant that there is no single  
 9 monocausal reason that can be identified for a single  
 10 cause of suicide bombings. And the purpose of this  
 11 explanation was to point to my assessment that there  
 12 were a range of collective and possibly individual  
 13 motives and reasons that people would engage in this  
 14 kind of activity.  
 15 Q. Well, you understand that one of the questions that the  
 16 jury's going to be asked to decide in our case is  
 17 whether the PA caused the suicide bombings at issue in  
 18 our case; right?  
 19 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  
 20 You can respond.  
 21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 22 Q. Do you understand that?  
 23 MR. HILL: Same objection.  
 24 A. Say that again?  
 25 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

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1 Q. Sure. The jury in our case is going to be asked to  
 2 decide whether the PA caused injury to the plaintiffs;  
 3 right?  
 4 A. I don't know what the jury, if such a jury comes to be,  
 5 will be asked. If you say that's what's going to  
 6 happen, we can move on from that.  
 7 Q. All right. So -- so when you wrote in your report  
 8 there's no evidence that the PA caused suicide bombings,  
 9 are you expressing an opinion about the actual terrorist  
 10 attacks that bring us together today?  
 11 A. I'm expressing an opinion about the phenomenon of  
 12 suicide bombings, and more generally, this report is  
 13 about my understanding of how Palestinians viewed  
 14 a variety of forms of resistance to occupation,  
 15 including violent resistance.  
 16 Q. Is it your contention that the Palestinian Authority had  
 17 no role in the seven attacks that bring us together  
 18 today?  
 19 A. I don't know what, if any, role members or parts of the  
 20 Palestinian Authority had in any specific event.  
 21 Q. So do I have it right that you are expressing no opinion  
 22 about the particular attacks in our case?  
 23 MR. HILL: Objection, misstates her testimony.  
 24 A. This report is about the context of the Second Intifada,  
 25 and does not purport to be an explanation of specific

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1 events.  
 2 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 3 Q. So did you -- have you published opinions about what  
 4 caused suicide bombings in the Al-Aqsa Intifada?  
 5 A. I have published analyses of how Palestinians viewed  
 6 resistance to occupation, including issues around people  
 7 who died in the process of resisting occupation, and  
 8 I published analysis of the range of kinds of opinions  
 9 and explanations that people at the local level produced  
 10 to explain those kinds of events or actions.  
 11 Q. So do any of your publications deal with what role the  
 12 Palestinian Authority had in attacks on civilians during  
 13 the Al-Aqsa Intifada?  
 14 A. My publications were not analyses of Palestinian  
 15 Authority activities or -- no.  
 16 Q. And -- and similarly, your publications never analyzed  
 17 the role of the PLO in attacks on civilians during the  
 18 Al-Aqsa Intifada; right?  
 19 A. My research has not been on the PLO, no.  
 20 Q. Now, did you -- I think you read the expert reports of  
 21 Shrenzel and Eviatar?  
 22 A. Correct.  
 23 Q. Did you read any of the documents attached to those  
 24 reports?  
 25 A. There was -- I read some exhibits; I don't recall if

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1 I read all, or which ones. I believe they're listed in  
 2 my report.  
 3 Q. Did -- did you notice that the reports had some general  
 4 comments, and then they had sections that dealt with the  
 5 specific attacks in our case?  
 6 A. I don't recall the specific structure of these reports.  
 7 Q. So did you focus -- do you recall that -- well, let me  
 8 ask you a different question. Let's -- let's start with  
 9 the report of Shrenzel.  
 10 Do you recall that Shrenzel expressed general  
 11 opinions about the role of Arafat and the relationship  
 12 among the PA and the PLO and Al-Aqsa, for example?  
 13 A. Could I see a copy of it?  
 14 Q. I'm not sure; bear with me one second.  
 15 We -- we have one copy; we'll mark it for you.  
 16 Did you -- while we're waiting, can I ask you about  
 17 the report of Nick Kaufman: Did you read that report?  
 18 A. No.  
 19 Q. And did you read any of the documents cited in that  
 20 report?  
 21 A. I don't know.  
 22 Q. They were convictions of people who --  
 23 A. No.  
 24 Q. -- either pled guilty or were convicted after trial of  
 25 committing acts of violence against civilians?

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1 A. No, I didn't.  
 2 Q. And I think I've asked you this before, but you've never  
 3 read the verdict following the trial of Marwan Baghouti;  
 4 right?  
 5 A. No.  
 6 Q. All right. Have you looked at the website of the  
 7 Palestinian Authority?  
 8 A. Yes, I'm sure I have.  
 9 Q. Uh-huh. And have you -- have you looked at the website  
 10 of the Palestinian police force?  
 11 A. I don't recall.  
 12 Q. All right.  
 13 MR. YALOWITZ: Do we have the Shrenzel report?  
 14 Q. All right. So we're going to mark a copy of the report  
 15 of Israel Shrenzel. I only have one, but I know that  
 16 your counsel has seen it before.  
 17 MR. YALOWITZ: We'll mark it as Allen 8 -- 9.  
 18 (Exhibit 9 marked for identification.)  
 19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 20 Q. Do you have Shrenzel's report before you?  
 21 A. Yes.  
 22 Q. So could you turn with me to page 18.  
 23 Do you see on page 18, he's talking about the  
 24 particular -- some of the particular attacks at issue in  
 25 our case?

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1 A. Mm-hmm.  
 2 Q. You have to give her --  
 3 A. Sorry: Yes. I see this section marked "The Attacks at  
 4 Issue in This Case."  
 5 Q. And that section then goes on for the remainder of the  
 6 report; right?  
 7 A. Yes.  
 8 Q. Okay. So did you -- did you read that section of the  
 9 report before you reached your conclusions and rendered  
 10 your opinions?  
 11 A. I read this report, yes.  
 12 Q. And did you read any of the documents cited in section C  
 13 of the report, which starts on page 18?  
 14 A. I don't believe so.  
 15 Q. All right. So -- so do you believe that anything in  
 16 that report contains evidence that the PA caused suicide  
 17 bombings?  
 18 MR. HILL: Objection. Lack of foundation, improper  
 19 witness -- expert witness testimony. She can respond.  
 20 A. Restate the question?  
 21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 22 Q. Sure. Do you believe that anything in that section of  
 23 the report supports the conclusion that the PA caused  
 24 suicide bombings?  
 25 MR. HILL: Same objections.

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1 A. I have no basis for believing or not -- well, for  
 2 believing this report and its contentions.  
 3 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 4 Q. So -- so is that report consistent with your opinion  
 5 expressed in your report that there is no evidence that  
 6 the PA caused suicide bombings?  
 7 MR. HILL: Objection, argumentative.  
 8 A. I did not consider this report as being a credible,  
 9 reliable or -- a source of evidence. So yes, it's  
 10 consistent with the statement.  
 11 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 12 Q. All right. And I take it you didn't read any of the  
 13 documents referenced in section C; right?  
 14 MR. HILL: Objection, asked and answered.  
 15 A. I don't believe so, no.  
 16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  
 17 Q. And you didn't read any of the criminal convictions  
 18 referenced in exhibit C; right?  
 19 A. No, I didn't.  
 20 Q. All right. And I think I may have asked you, but let me  
 21 just make sure: Have you ever heard of an individual  
 22 named Abd-el Karim Aweis?  
 23 A. I see that he's mentioned in this report, so I've heard  
 24 of him.  
 25 Q. Mm-hmm. Do you know who he is?



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<p>1 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>2 A. No, not really.</p> <p>3 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>4 Q. You've not read the record of his criminal conviction;</p> <p>5 right?</p> <p>6 MR. HILL: Objection, asked and answered.</p> <p>7 A. No, I've not.</p> <p>8 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>9 Q. And do you know whether he's on the PA payroll today?</p> <p>10 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>11 A. I do not know.</p> <p>12 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>13 Q. Do you know what his rank is in the PA police force?</p> <p>14 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>15 A. No, I don't.</p> <p>16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>17 Q. So why don't we see if we can learn together. We'll</p> <p>18 look at a document that we'll mark as Allen 10.</p> <p>19 (Exhibit 10 marked for identification.)</p> <p>20 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>21 Q. Do you have that document?</p> <p>22 A. Yes.</p> <p>23 Q. You've never seen this document before; right?</p> <p>24 A. Correct.</p> <p>25 Q. Do you know what it is?</p>	<p>1 A. I don't know. I don't know that word.</p> <p>2 Q. Do you -- do you see an entry dated June -- I'm sorry --</p> <p>3 yeah, June 1, 2011?</p> <p>4 A. Mm-hmm. Yes.</p> <p>5 Q. And can you -- can you see what -- what rank Mr. Aweis</p> <p>6 has, according to that table?</p> <p>7 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>8 A. What I read here is the words (Arabic spoken), and then</p> <p>9 a date, and then (Arabic spoken), and then what</p> <p>10 I presume is a date, and then the word (Arabic spoken),</p> <p>11 and then a number, and then what I presume is a date,</p> <p>12 and then what I think says, in very small print, (Arabic</p> <p>13 spoken).</p> <p>14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>15 Q. And do you know what any of those Arabic words mean?</p> <p>16 A. Yes.</p> <p>17 Q. Could you tell me?</p> <p>18 A. I know that (Arabic spoken) means "from." (Arabic</p> <p>19 spoken) means "to." In this context, I don't know what</p> <p>20 (Arabic spoken) means; it could mean "by order." And</p> <p>21 I don't know what, in this context, (Arabic spoken)</p> <p>22 means. Those words could mean "military" -- it could</p> <p>23 mean "military course."</p> <p>24 Q. What is the phrase right beneath the table? Does</p> <p>25 that -- does that say "Recommend Registration of</p>
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<p>1 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>2 A. No.</p> <p>3 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>4 Q. Do you know who it relates to?</p> <p>5 A. I see that the name listed is Abd-el Karim Rativ Urnis</p> <p>6 Aweis.</p> <p>7 Q. That's the same guy we're talking about; right?</p> <p>8 A. I believe so, yes.</p> <p>9 Q. And do you see -- can you tell what's going on in the --</p> <p>10 in the table? Do you see what the table is entitled?</p> <p>11 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation, compound question.</p> <p>12 A. The -- the table (Arabic spoken), this table?</p> <p>13 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>14 Q. Yes.</p> <p>15 A. And you're asking me what's going on in it?</p> <p>16 Q. Right.</p> <p>17 MR. HILL: Same objections.</p> <p>18 A. I don't have any context for this document. I don't --</p> <p>19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>20 Q. Does it say at the -- what's it headed at the top? Can</p> <p>21 you see the top of the table? It's got a heading.</p> <p>22 A. Typed here, it says "The State of Palestine."</p> <p>23 Q. I'm sorry, at the top of the table.</p> <p>24 A. Sorry, at the top of the table -- (Arabic spoken).</p> <p>25 Q. Is that "Promotions"?</p>	<p>1 Promotions," or something like that?</p> <p>2 A. I don't know that word. Those two words: I don't know</p> <p>3 those words.</p> <p>4 Q. All right. I just want to direct your attention to one</p> <p>5 thing, but I need to figure out where it is.</p> <p>6 Do you see a reference at the bottom of the page to</p> <p>7 a number, 5667/15?</p> <p>8 A. Yes.</p> <p>9 Q. Are you -- are you able to tell me what that sentence</p> <p>10 says in English?</p> <p>11 A. It doesn't look like a sentence to me. (Arabic spoken),</p> <p>12 as I said, could mean "by the order"; and then there are</p> <p>13 those numbers that you just mentioned.</p> <p>14 Q. Right?</p> <p>15 A. Then there's something that looks like a date.</p> <p>16 Q. Right?</p> <p>17 A. June 17th, 2002.</p> <p>18 And then it says: "Because of the incarceration" --</p> <p>19 "Because of his incarceration," from -- two words</p> <p>20 I don't know, and something about his salary.</p> <p>21 Q. It says that "By reason of his incarceration in Israel,</p> <p>22 his salary shall be paid"; is that fair to say?</p> <p>23 A. (Arabic spoken). It looked like a (Arabic spoken). Oh,</p> <p>24 I'm sorry, so (Arabic spoken) could, if it says (Arabic</p> <p>25 spoken) -- and the print is odd -- could mean "because</p>



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<p>1 of his incarceration on the other side," or "by the</p> <p>2 other side," the payment of his salary.</p> <p>3 There's no verb there, so it's not really</p> <p>4 a sentence.</p> <p>5 Q. Do you know how many life sentences Karim Abd-el Aweis</p> <p>6 is serving?</p> <p>7 A. No.</p> <p>8 Q. Do you know what his relationship is to the attacks in</p> <p>9 our case?</p> <p>10 A. No.</p> <p>11 Q. Do you -- were you aware that -- that individual members</p> <p>12 of the PA security forces convicted of injuring and</p> <p>13 killing civilians in Israel remain on the payroll of the</p> <p>14 Palestinian Authority?</p> <p>15 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>16 A. I don't know about the Palestinian Authority's payroll.</p> <p>17 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>18 Q. And -- and were you aware, when you reached your</p> <p>19 conclusions and rendered your report, that individuals</p> <p>20 who were officers of the Palestinian Authority were</p> <p>21 given promotions while they were in prison by reason of</p> <p>22 their crimes?</p> <p>23 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>24 A. My report was a response to three other reports that</p> <p>25 I read, and my report did not -- I didn't have any</p>	<p>1 A. Correct.</p> <p>2 Q. Do you -- do you understand it to be something created</p> <p>3 by the Palestinian National Authority?</p> <p>4 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>5 A. I see that there is a masthead at the top of this that</p> <p>6 states "The Palestinian National Authority."</p> <p>7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>8 Q. And do you -- can you read the name on the front to see</p> <p>9 who it relates to?</p> <p>10 A. I see that the word "case" is followed by the Arabic</p> <p>11 words for "the martyr" -- "the martyr of the Intifada</p> <p>12 Al-Aqsa."</p> <p>13 Q. And does it say --</p> <p>14 A. And then there's a name beneath that, "Wafa Ali Khalil</p> <p>15 Idris."</p> <p>16 Q. So that's Wafa Idris; right?</p> <p>17 A. It says "Wafa Ali Khalil Idris."</p> <p>18 Q. Is that the Wafa Idris we've been talking about?</p> <p>19 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>20 A. I have no idea.</p> <p>21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>22 Q. All right. Let's look on page 4 together.</p> <p>23 I'd like to direct your attention to the</p> <p>24 handwritten -- is it handwritten? It looks handwritten.</p> <p>25 The handwritten portion at the top of the fourth page:</p>
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<p>1 evidence that payments were -- higher payments were made</p> <p>2 for one reason or another by any organization to any of</p> <p>3 these people. These are not matters that I have any</p> <p>4 evidence of.</p> <p>5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>6 Q. Sitting here today, what do you make of the record that</p> <p>7 we're looking at?</p> <p>8 MR. HILL: Objection, vague.</p> <p>9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>10 Q. If anything.</p> <p>11 A. Sorry, what was the --</p> <p>12 MR. HILL: Objection, vague.</p> <p>13 A. Because I don't have the context, and I don't have</p> <p>14 anyone who actually knows where this came from or what</p> <p>15 it's about, I cannot make anything of this in any kind</p> <p>16 -- with any confidence.</p> <p>17 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>18 Q. So let me show you one other document and see if you</p> <p>19 have any reactions to it.</p> <p>20 MR. YALOWITZ: We'll mark it as Allen 11.</p> <p>21 (Exhibit 11 marked for identification.)</p> <p>22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>23 Q. Do you have Allen 11 before you, Dr. Allen?</p> <p>24 A. Yes.</p> <p>25 Q. This is not a document that you have seen before; right?</p>	<p>1 Do you see that?</p> <p>2 A. Yes.</p> <p>3 Q. And you see there are three starred sentences at the top</p> <p>4 of that page?</p> <p>5 A. Yes.</p> <p>6 Q. The second and third starred sentences -- well, I'm</p> <p>7 going to read -- I'll tell you what we'll do: I'll read</p> <p>8 a translation of these three sentences, and you tell me</p> <p>9 if that sounds right to you. Okay?</p> <p>10 A. Okay.</p> <p>11 Q. "The martyr is one of the Al-Aqsa Intifada martyrs. The</p> <p>12 martyr is divorced, without children. Her father is</p> <p>13 deceased. Her mother is alive. She has three married</p> <p>14 brothers."</p> <p>15 Are you with me so far?</p> <p>16 A. Yes.</p> <p>17 Q. Next sentence:</p> <p>18 "She was martyred during a heroic martyrdom</p> <p>19 operation against the Zionists in the occupied city of</p> <p>20 Jerusalem."</p> <p>21 Third sentence:</p> <p>22 "Therefore we recommend that she be considered one</p> <p>23 of the Al-Aqsa Intifada martyrs according to the</p> <p>24 regulations."</p> <p>25 Dated February 14th, 2002.</p>

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1 Do I have that right?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Does that give you a sense of which Wafa Idris this file  
4 relates to?

5 MR. HILL: Object, lack of foundation.

6 A. The file relates -- this says this relates to somebody  
7 who carried out a martyrdom operation.

8 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

9 Q. Are you aware that the Palestinian Authority pays  
10 Wafa Idris's family money as a result of her suicide  
11 bombing?

12 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

13 A. I do not have specific information about that.

14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

15 Q. Do you believe it?

16 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

17 A. I -- I don't know. I don't know if they are paying her  
18 money. I don't have any information on that, her  
19 family's money. I don't know.

20 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

21 Q. I think you and I spoke earlier about the Human Rights  
22 Watch report about the Al-Aqsa Intifada. Do you recall  
23 that?

24 A. Mm-hmm.

25 Q. And is that a document that you considered when you

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1 reached your conclusions and rendered your report?

2 A. I don't recall if I read it in the period of writing  
3 this report.

4 Q. Did -- did you see a report from September 2004 by the  
5 ICG relating to the Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades?

6 A. Probably, yes.

7 Q. Did you consider that report?

8 A. If it's in my footnotes, I did. I know that I have  
9 looked at that report at some point; I don't know if  
10 I considered it in conjunction with writing this report.

11 Q. There is a different report -- I'll represent to you, at  
12 least, I didn't see it in your footnotes.

13 A. Okay.

14 Q. I can't promise that it's not there, but I didn't see  
15 it; I saw a different one from a different period. But  
16 I want to ask you some questions about the one from  
17 2004, so we'll put it before you, and you can look at  
18 it.

19 A. Okay.

20 (Discussion off the record.)

21 (Exhibit 12 marked for identification.)

22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

23 Q. Do you have exhibit 12 before you?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Is it a document you're familiar with?

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1 A. Yes.

2 Q. You've -- do you remember the last time you looked at  
3 it?

4 A. No.

5 Q. Could we look together at page 22, which deals with the  
6 phenomenon of the Al-Aqsa brigades.

7 Do you see that?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Do you think that this report, by the way, by ICG would  
10 be a useful document if one were trying to understand  
11 the phenomenon of the Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades?

12 A. A useful document, yes.

13 Q. And is it a document on which it would be reasonable for  
14 people in your field to rely on?

15 Too many "ons" in that sentence.

16 A. It is a document that people in my field might consult,  
17 yes.

18 Q. All right. If you look with me at the last paragraph on  
19 the first column of page 22, ICG is describing the final  
20 months of 2000; do you see that?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. They're saying that:

23 "During the final months of 2000, armed attacks  
24 against Israeli soldiers and Jewish settlers in the  
25 occupied territories became increasingly frequent. With

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1 Hamas still largely quiet, most were claimed by the  
2 Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, a new militia affiliated with  
3 the Fatah movement."

4 Do you see that?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. Do you have any basis to disagree with that reporting of  
7 the facts?

8 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

9 A. I see that this document cites another document in  
10 French, which I don't know and haven't read; I don't  
11 know French. So on that basis, I couldn't -- I couldn't  
12 state if the conclusions it's reaching, the ICG report  
13 is reaching, are consistent with what it's citing.

14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

15 Q. Well, you were living in the Ramallah area in the final  
16 months of 2000; right?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Were you aware that armed attacks against Israeli  
19 soldiers and Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories  
20 became increasingly familiar?

21 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

22 A. I followed the news that reported on -- that reported on  
23 attacks against Israeli soldiers and settlers, but I was  
24 not keeping a track of frequency.

25 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

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1 Q. Did you keep track of whether Hamas was still largely  
2 quiet?

3 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

4 A. That was not a focus of my research.

5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

6 Q. And did you keep track of who was claiming  
7 responsibility for these armed attacks?

8 A. If responsibility was claimed and reported in news  
9 media, I would have noted it; but it was not a focus of  
10 my research and was not something that I recorded or  
11 focused on.

12 Q. Look with me on the next sentence after the one we've  
13 been looking at. ICG reports:

14 "It was an unmistakable signal that the uprising was  
15 entering a militarised phase with the tacit support of  
16 a Palestinian leadership unable or unwilling to prevent  
17 it (or both)."

18 Do you see that?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Do you have any opinions on whether that is an accurate  
21 statement of the facts?

22 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation, and the sentence  
23 itself is compound. But the witness can respond.

24 A. I have no basis for assessing this claim of ICG.

25 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

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1 in which they were living.

2 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

3 Q. Is it fair to say your work just didn't touch on the  
4 topics referenced in that sentence that I just read?

5 A. It's fair -- no. I mean, it's -- what I'm saying is  
6 that --

7 Q. Let me ask you a different question, then, because  
8 you've said "no"; that's fair.

9 Is it -- is it fair to say that other than the  
10 perception of violence, your work was not directed  
11 toward the perpetrators of violence, or who was  
12 perpetrating the violence, or whether they were under  
13 the control of their supervisors?

14 A. Correct.

15 MR. HILL: Objection, compound question.

16 A. Correct.

17 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

18 Q. Thank you.

19 Okay. Let me ask you about one other observation in  
20 the ICG report, which is on page 23. And this is the --  
21 in the second column, the first -- I guess the second  
22 paragraph, that begins: "A key issue ..."

23 Do you see that?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. Okay. I'm just going to read to you a couple of

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1 Q. If you look with me at the next paragraph, ICG is  
2 reporting the following:

3 "Numerous instances in which uniformed Palestinian  
4 security personnel initiated or participated in fire  
5 fights with Israeli forces and against settlements, and  
6 a conspicuous pattern in which some security forces  
7 (notably General Intelligence) were involved in the  
8 armed uprising while others (particularly the  
9 Preventative Security Force) remained wholly aloof,  
10 suggested that, at the very least, the leadership  
11 exerted a measure of influence."

12 You see that sentence; right?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And is there any part of that sentence on which your  
15 work gave you a basis to opine as to the accuracy of  
16 this -- of any portion of that sentence?

17 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. The question is  
18 confused. The witness can respond.

19 A. So in my research, I paid attention to how Palestinians  
20 were understanding the events of the Intifada; I was not  
21 doing research on who was involved in what armed  
22 attacks, and I was not doing research on the role of  
23 political leadership or the elites or higher echelons of  
24 political organizations. My focus was more on how  
25 people at the grassroots were understanding the events

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1 sentences from that paragraph, and then I'm going to ask  
2 you some questions about it.

3 "From their formation in late 2000 until early 2002,  
4 they" -- that being the Al-Aqsa brigades -- "experienced  
5 few real constraints within the comparatively safe  
6 havens of Area A. Although prominent commanders were at  
7 constant risk of assassination by the Israeli air force  
8 (and many were in fact killed), the militias enjoyed  
9 virtually unrestricted freedom within the cities. They  
10 routinely organized public displays of strength; roamed  
11 the streets at will, weapons in hand; were constantly  
12 available to the media; and made few efforts to conceal  
13 their identities."

14 So my question about those observations is whether  
15 your -- you lived in Ramallah during this period; right?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Or in a town next to Ramallah?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. So are the observations that I just read from the ICG  
20 consistent with your experience living in that area?

21 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. Vague.

22 A. Yeah, I -- I wasn't following or trying to understand  
23 who or what the Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades may have been,  
24 or who they were, or what they were doing. So what  
25 other research I've done seems to confirm that Israel

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1 was -- Israeli military was assassinating people that  
2 they wanted killed. As it says here, "constant risk of  
3 assassination."

4 And that's what I understood from media at the time,  
5 and subsequent research that I've done; that indeed  
6 happened. But this -- this paragraph is specifically  
7 about the -- what they're calling the Al-Aqsa Brigades,  
8 and I don't have a basis for making statements about  
9 Al-Aqsa Brigades.

10 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

11 Q. Okay. Do you understand that in connection with the  
12 Oslo process, the PLO and the Palestinian Authority made  
13 a number of commitments to the State of Israel?

14 A. I'm familiar with that idea.

15 Q. They -- they recognized that -- Israel's right to exist  
16 in peace and security; does that sound familiar to you?

17 A. That sounds right.

18 Q. They committed themselves to a peaceful resolution of  
19 the conflict with Israel; is that right?

20 A. I don't have the text of the accords in my head, but  
21 that doesn't sound surprising.

22 Q. They renounced the use of terrorism and violence; right?

23 A. Again, I don't have the text of the accords in front of  
24 me, but that doesn't sound inconsistent.

25 Q. They -- they agreed to assume responsibility over all

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1 Commitment Compliance Act?

2 A. No.

3 Q. Have you ever seen any reports by the State Department  
4 to Congress assessing whether the Palestinian Liberation  
5 Organization or the PA complied with their commitments  
6 in the Oslo accords submitted to Congress under the  
7 auspices of that statute?

8 A. Not that I recall.

9 MR. YALOWITZ: Bear with me one second.

10 MR. HILL: Sure.

11 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

12 Q. So I wanted to ask you further about Professor Pape.

13 A. Okay.

14 Q. Do you know him?

15 A. Personally, no, I don't think I've met him. I have seen  
16 him speak; that's all.

17 Q. You -- what was the name of his book? "Dying to Win,"  
18 or something like that?

19 A. I think so.

20 Q. "Dying to Win"?

21 You agree with me, don't you, that that book  
22 contained a rational and careful analysis?

23 MR. HILL: Objection, vague.

24 Go ahead.

25 A. Generally, I think that it was a political science text

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1 PLO elements and personnel to assure their compliance?

2 A. The same answer.

3 Q. Sounds right, but you don't have the text?

4 A. Right.

5 Q. They agreed to prevent violations, and discipline  
6 violators of these promises; does that ring any bells to  
7 you?

8 A. I don't know. I haven't read the text of the accords,  
9 and if I had, certainly not recently enough to be able  
10 to state all of the different points that you're going  
11 over.

12 Q. Do you have an opinion on whether the PLO and the PA  
13 complied with these commitments during the Al-Aqsa  
14 Intifada?

15 A. No, I do not --

16 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

17 A. Sorry.

18 No, I do not have an opinion.

19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

20 Q. Have you ever read any of the reports by the United  
21 States State Department assessing whether the PLO and  
22 the PA complied with these commitments?

23 A. I believe the Mitchell Commission, which I've read, may  
24 have touched on these issues.

25 Q. Have you ever heard of a statute called the PLO

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1 that attempted to find a rational analysis for the  
2 phenomenon of suicide bombers. However, in -- in other  
3 ways, I found the analysis to not be rational, but  
4 rather to be a little bit ideological, and made  
5 assumptions. So yes and no.

6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

7 Q. Well, you reviewed his book; right?

8 A. Mm-hmm.

9 Q. And in your book review, you wrote that he had made  
10 a rational and careful analysis; right?

11 A. Okay.

12 Q. I mean, I'm asking you.

13 A. I don't recall the text of my review. I -- what I just  
14 described to you was basically what I wrote in that  
15 review, which is that he tried to present a rational and  
16 -- rational explanation for the phenomenon of suicide  
17 bombers generally, but there were aspects of the text  
18 that I thought were insufficiently elaborated or  
19 somewhat ideological.

20 Q. Why don't I show you the book review, and maybe we can  
21 agree on the phraseology?

22 A. Okay.

23 (Exhibit 13 marked for identification.)

24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

25 Q. Would you look with me on -- first of all, do you have

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1 exhibit 13 before you?  
 2 A. Yes.  
 3 Q. Would you look with me on page 110.  
 4 A. Okay.  
 5 Q. Do you have that?  
 6 A. Yes.  
 7 Q. This is -- this is your review of three books; right?  
 8 A. Yes.  
 9 Q. And is this peer reviewed, or is this more like -- like  
 10 for the general academic reader?  
 11 A. The latter.  
 12 Q. All right. This is -- when was this published, by the  
 13 way? '03? No.  
 14 A. It says "2006."  
 15 Q. '06. So this was after the London terrorist bombings;  
 16 right?  
 17 A. I don't remember when the London terrorist bombings  
 18 were.  
 19 Q. So see how at the very beginning you say: "The July  
 20 bombings in London..."?  
 21 A. Oh, yeah; it must have been.  
 22 Q. All right. And then the next -- and that's you; right?  
 23 Lori A. Allen?  
 24 A. Yes.  
 25 Q. All right. And this is your review of Pape's book;

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1 right?  
 2 A. Yes.  
 3 Q. And do you see in the second paragraph, you say:  
 4 "In this climate of ideologically hidebound  
 5 discourse, it is a relief to discover Robert Pape's  
 6 rational and careful analysis in Dying to Win..."?  
 7 A. Yes.  
 8 Q. That's -- that was your review; right?  
 9 A. Yes.  
 10 Q. And do you stand by that review, or not?  
 11 A. I stand by my review and what I said in my earlier  
 12 comment, explaining further what I said in this review,  
 13 which is that it's a rational analysis, and I had  
 14 objections to some aspects of the book.  
 15 Q. You thought that, for example, his understanding of  
 16 martyrdom was confined by the disciplinary strictures of  
 17 political science?  
 18 A. For example.  
 19 Q. And -- and so you identified the limitations you saw in  
 20 the review; right?  
 21 A. I attempted to do that, yes.  
 22 Q. And then on page 112, you wrote:  
 23 "Despite these limitations, Dying to Win is  
 24 a generally well-reasoned book that hopefully will  
 25 inject some much-needed equanimity and rationality into

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1 popular debates and U.S. foreign policy in the Middle  
 2 East and beyond"; right?  
 3 A. Yes.  
 4 Q. And do you stand by that view, that it is a generally  
 5 well-reasoned book?  
 6 A. I thought so, yes.  
 7 Q. Okay; great. And indeed, you cited his book in your  
 8 report in our case; right?  
 9 A. Yes.  
 10 Q. And you agree with his conclusion in his book that:  
 11 "Suicide terrorism is not irrational, random, or  
 12 pathological, but rather political, organized and  
 13 directed towards specific, secular goals"; right?  
 14 A. Is that a quote from my report? Or a quote from --  
 15 Q. It is not a quote from your report; it is a quote from  
 16 your book review. I think it's also in your  
 17 dissertation, if memory serves.  
 18 A. Can you tell me what page in the review?  
 19 Q. Sure. Page 111.  
 20 A. Can you repeat the quote, please?  
 21 Q. Sure. We're in the first column, first full paragraph,  
 22 halfway through:  
 23 "Suicide terrorism is not irrational, random, or  
 24 pathological, but rather political, organized, and  
 25 directed toward specific, secular goals."

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1 Are you with me?  
 2 A. One moment, please.  
 3 Q. Sure.  
 4 A. So -- I've found the sentence that you quoted.  
 5 Q. And do you -- sitting here today, do you agree that that  
 6 is correct?  
 7 A. What I agree is that this was Pape's assessment, that  
 8 suicide terrorism is not irrational, random, or  
 9 pathological.  
 10 Q. Right, but it's your assessment as well, isn't it?  
 11 A. No. Here I'm summarizing Pape's assessment.  
 12 Q. Well, I'm asking you: Do you agree with it?  
 13 A. It's too broad of a statement to be able to simply  
 14 agree. Suicide terrorism is different in different  
 15 contexts, which is something that this book points out.  
 16 And in fact, in this section, he is referring to  
 17 Sri Lanka, or -- I point out that he's using Sri Lanka  
 18 as an example of a secular -- a secular organization  
 19 using suicide bombings.  
 20 Q. So -- so this is not your view; this is Pape's view?  
 21 A. In this review, in this section, I am summarizing Pape's  
 22 analysis, pointing out that he is trying to present  
 23 a more nuanced understanding of where suicide terrorism  
 24 is carried out, and why. And one of his arguments that  
 25 I'm recounting here is that suicide terrorism is not



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1 primarily or in the majority a -- religiously driven,  
2 and certainly not a primarily or majority Muslim kind of  
3 activity.

4 Q. Do you -- is it your opinion that -- that suicide  
5 terrorism is political, organized, and directed toward  
6 specific secular goals?

7 A. It depends on the case.

8 Q. How about the case of the Al-Aqsa Intifada, for one?

9 A. So you're asking me if the suicide terror acts that were  
10 undertaken throughout the Second Intifada were secular  
11 and political?

12 Q. Political, organized, and directed towards specific  
13 secular goals.

14 A. And I can't make a general claim about suicide terrorism  
15 or suicide acts, generally, during that  
16 three-to-five-year period, however you count it.

17 Q. So -- so I guess I need to mark your dissertation.

18 A. Fine.

19 MR. YALOWITZ: So we'll mark it as Allen 14.  
20 (Exhibit 14 marked for identification.)

21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

22 Q. Do you have it before you?

23 Do you want to glance at it, or will you accept my  
24 representation that it is indeed the dissertation of  
25 Dr. Lori A. Allen?

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1 A. I will accept that representation.

2 Q. Outstanding.

3 Why don't you look with me on page 367.

4 Not only did I buy it, but I read it.

5 A. I will not comment.

6 Sorry, I'm going to have to undo this.

7 Q. Sure, you can take the binder clip off.

8 Are you there?

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. Do you see you're talking about Robert Pape?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. You say he's among the most levelheaded approaches;  
13 right?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. And this is your dissertation; this is your opinion.

16 Right?

17 A. Correct.

18 Q. And then you say what his argument is; right?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. You say that his argument is "... a response by weaker  
21 actors against foreign occupation by democratic states,  
22 and that it 'makes strategic sense,' usually as a last  
23 resort when crucial national interests are at stake";  
24 right?

25 A. That is a paraphrase and partial quote of his book.

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1 Q. And it's -- but it's -- I'm --

2 A. In my dissertation.

3 Q. Right; it's your -- I'm just reading your dissertation.

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. Okay. Then -- and you cite various pages of his book;  
6 right?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Then you've got another sentence, in which you write, in  
9 your dissertation, in your words:

10 "Suicide terrorism is not irrational, random or  
11 pathological, but rather, political, organized, and  
12 directed toward specific, secular goals."

13 Right?

14 A. That's what it says, yes.

15 Q. Those are your words; right?

16 A. Still in the context of me summarizing Pape's argument.

17 Q. And so do you agree with his argument in the context of  
18 the Al-Aqsa Intifada, or do you disagree with it?

19 A. I think that my effort in this dissertation was to  
20 understand the political, social and historical context  
21 of a variety of events that occurred during the Second  
22 Intifada. And the point that's being made here in the  
23 paraphrase and summary of Pape's book is that suicide  
24 terrorism -- and generally in this dissertation, I write  
25 about various aspects of the Second Intifada and

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1 resistance to the occupation were political rather  
2 than -- rather than things that could be dismissed as  
3 the pathological -- pathological and irrational acts of  
4 people who couldn't be understood.

5 So that's the point I'm making in this section of  
6 the dissertation.

7 Q. Do you recall Pape's -- thank you, by the way; that's  
8 helpful.

9 Do you recall Pape's central thesis about what  
10 causes suicide terrorism?

11 A. If I recall correctly, he's trying to make the point  
12 that people resort to suicide terrorism not out of  
13 religious motivations, but because it is in many cases  
14 a rational effort to achieve political liberation or  
15 independence, or whatever the Sri Lankan Tigers or the  
16 other organizations he analyzes were after.

17 Q. So let me give you an excerpt from his book, and I'll  
18 ask you some questions about it; okay?

19 A. Okay.

20 MR. YALOWITZ: Do we have the excerpt? I think it's at the  
21 very end of our ...

22 Looks like it's 53.

23 (Discussion off the record.)

24 MR. YALOWITZ: We'll mark an excerpt from Dr. Pape's book as  
25 exhibit 15.

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<p>1 (Exhibit 15 marked for identification.)</p> <p>2 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>3 Q. Do you have it before you?</p> <p>4 A. Yes.</p> <p>5 Q. If you look with me on page 20.</p> <p>6 A. Yes.</p> <p>7 Q. Do you see the heading, "THE STRATEGIC LOGIC OF SUICIDE</p> <p>8 TERRORISM"?</p> <p>9 A. Yes.</p> <p>10 Q. And then Professor Pape poses the question: "What</p> <p>11 causes suicide terrorism?" Right?</p> <p>12 A. Yes.</p> <p>13 Q. That's sort of the central question of the book; fair to</p> <p>14 say?</p> <p>15 A. Yes.</p> <p>16 Q. And he says:</p> <p>17 "To answer this question, we must recognize that</p> <p>18 modern suicide terrorism occurs mainly in campaigns of</p> <p>19 suicide attacks carried out by organized groups for</p> <p>20 specific political goals and extending over</p> <p>21 a considerable period of time."</p> <p>22 Do you agree with that sentence?</p> <p>23 A. I have not done a study of modern suicide terrorism as</p> <p>24 such, so I can't -- I can't agree, based on my own</p> <p>25 research, that this is -- I can't agree, no.</p>	<p>1 looking at the bottom of page 20 and on to the top of</p> <p>2 page 21, he says:</p> <p>3 "To explain suicide terrorism, it is helpful to</p> <p>4 think of a suicide terrorist campaign as the product of</p> <p>5 a three-step process."</p> <p>6 Do you see that?</p> <p>7 A. Yes.</p> <p>8 Q. Do you think that was a rational -- do you think that</p> <p>9 was part of his rational and careful analysis?</p> <p>10 A. Yes.</p> <p>11 Q. And then the three steps he's talking about are the</p> <p>12 strategic, the social and the individual; right?</p> <p>13 A. Yes.</p> <p>14 Q. And he says you have to consider all three; right?</p> <p>15 A. Yes.</p> <p>16 Q. Now, with regard to strategic logic, he says:</p> <p>17 "The vast majority of suicide terrorist attacks are</p> <p>18 not isolated or random acts by individual fanatics, but</p> <p>19 rather occur in clusters as part of a larger campaign by</p> <p>20 an organized group to achieve a specific political</p> <p>21 goal."</p> <p>22 Right?</p> <p>23 A. Yes.</p> <p>24 Q. And you think that conclusion of his is part of his</p> <p>25 rational and careful analysis?</p>
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<p>1 Q. All right. Do you think this -- this -- well, then he</p> <p>2 says:</p> <p>3 "So the core phenomenon to be explained is not an</p> <p>4 individual suicide attack, or even many such attacks</p> <p>5 considered [at one] time, but the existence of</p> <p>6 protracted suicide terrorist campaigns. Although the</p> <p>7 motives of individual attackers matter, the crucial need</p> <p>8 is an explanation of the political, social and</p> <p>9 individual conditions that jointly account for why</p> <p>10 suicide terrorist campaigns persist, why so many are</p> <p>11 occurring now, and why they occur where and when they</p> <p>12 do."</p> <p>13 That's sort of the central question that he's posing</p> <p>14 in his book; right?</p> <p>15 A. Yes.</p> <p>16 Q. And then he answers that question in the next three</p> <p>17 pages, in summary fashion; fair to say?</p> <p>18 MR. HILL: Objection, compound question to the witness. But</p> <p>19 she can respond, if she can.</p> <p>20 A. It looks like an attempt to summarize his argument.</p> <p>21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>22 Q. And his argument is that there is a three-step process;</p> <p>23 right?</p> <p>24 A. He says the three principal questions are three.</p> <p>25 Q. Right. He says "... it is helpful to explain" --</p>	<p>1 MR. HILL: Objection, vague.</p> <p>2 A. I believe that what makes his analysis rational and</p> <p>3 careful is his attempt to contextualize suicide</p> <p>4 terrorism on these different dimensions.</p> <p>5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>6 Q. And do you disagree with his assessment of the strategic</p> <p>7 logic?</p> <p>8 MR. HILL: Objection, vague. Lack of foundation.</p> <p>9 A. Once again, his analysis is attempting to make broad</p> <p>10 claims about a broad phenomenon, drawing on specific</p> <p>11 cases. Here he mentions Hezbollah and Lebanon Hamas in</p> <p>12 the West Bank and the Tigers in Sri Lanka. He's</p> <p>13 conducting a broad kind of political science analysis,</p> <p>14 and his focus is on answering the question of what is</p> <p>15 the strategic logic of -- behind these phenomenon</p> <p>16 generally.</p> <p>17 Your question about whether or not I agree with --</p> <p>18 whether or not I agree with his statement that -- if</p> <p>19 I agree with his statement that such attacks happen as</p> <p>20 part of a larger campaign by an organized group,</p> <p>21 I agree that that's his analysis; but I have nothing to</p> <p>22 say, really, about the organization of these kinds of</p> <p>23 attacks in any specific terrorist campaign, so-called.</p> <p>24 Q. Sure. So do you know -- by the way, before I get to</p> <p>25 that -- I'm sorry, let me withdraw that question.</p>

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<p>1 Do you know what his view is about the militant 2 groups themselves? Do you recall that? 3 MR. HILL: Objection, vague. 4 A. What -- no, I don't know what you mean. 5 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 6 Q. Is that in my little excerpt? Oh, here it is; it's out 7 of order. 8 Page 8 explaining suicide terrorism. It's out of 9 order in my copy; maybe it's correct in yours. 10 A. Does it come later? 11 Q. Yeah. 12 MR. HILL: I think it's the page that says "2" on the top. 13 MR. YALOWITZ: Yeah. "Explaining Suicide Terrorism." 14 Q. You see, he says: 15 "My general propositions hold across a wide variety 16 of circumstances and account for a large portion of 17 suicide terrorism, but they have limits." 18 A. Mm-hmm. 19 Q. Do you see that? 20 A. Yes. 21 Q. And he says his arguments are meant to account for 22 modern suicide terrorism? 23 A. Yes. 24 Q. And then he talks about modern suicide terrorist groups 25 sharing a number of features; do you see that?</p>	<p>1 A. There are aspects of Pape's thesis -- or rather his 2 approach -- that I thought was the correct approach; 3 that is, specifically, to understand these kinds of 4 phenomena or acts or events in a broader social and 5 political context, and to understand that the people who 6 undertake these kinds of acts usually have a kind of -- 7 usually do have a political goal, as well as a set of 8 individual political histories or personal or social 9 histories. 10 And what I appreciated about Pape's text, and which 11 led me to make the assessment that it was a rational and 12 careful analysis, was precisely his willingness -- even 13 though he's a political scientist -- to try to take 14 account of multiple dimensions of social life, rather 15 than trying to reduce any kind of social phenomenon to 16 a monocausal factor. 17 Q. So his thesis is that you need three steps in the 18 process; right? 19 A. His thesis is that there are three kinds of questions 20 that should be asked in order to understand the 21 phenomenon of suicide terrorism generally. 22 Q. And you studied in your fieldwork two of the three 23 questions; fair to say? 24 A. Not exactly. My fieldwork was focused on the -- my 25 fieldwork was focused on trying to understand how</p>
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<p>1 A. Yes. 2 Q. And one of the features is that the militants have 3 a close bond of loyalty to comrades and devotion to 4 leaders; do you see that? 5 A. I see that. 6 Q. Now, you didn't study the Palestinian militants; right? 7 A. Correct. 8 Q. So you have no basis to opine on whether the Palestinian 9 militant community fits the description that Pape is 10 giving about their close bond of loyalty to comrades and 11 devotion to leaders; right? 12 A. I'm not sure there's such a thing as a single 13 political -- I mean militant community, first of all. 14 What I have opined about is the general context in which 15 people felt like violent resistance to occupation was 16 the thing to do. 17 One of those contextual features is something that 18 Pape mentions on page 22, which is that suicide 19 terrorism is virtually always a response to foreign 20 occupation, and that is part of the context that 21 I understood to be fundamental in helping to explain or 22 make sense of the violence that occurred during the 23 Second Intifada, from the Palestinians' side. 24 Q. So based on your observations, did the Al-Aqsa Intifada 25 fit with Pape's thesis?</p>	<p>1 Palestinians experienced and analyzed and represented 2 a number of kinds of situations that were primary 3 features during the Second Intifada. 4 Suicide terrorism, specifically, was not a prime 5 focus of my research; rather, understanding how 6 Palestinians came to feel or support various acts of 7 violence against the occupation was something that 8 I tried to understand. 9 Q. So that kind of goes to the social logic of suicide 10 terrorism; is that -- do I have that right? 11 A. As I said, my research was not focused on suicide 12 terrorism. The term "social logic" could be applied to 13 the kind of research that anthropologists -- and I being 14 one of them -- try to get at the social logic of events, 15 practices, beliefs, attitudes and so forth. 16 Q. Now, did you study anything that touched on the 17 individual logic of suicide terrorism: What motivates 18 a particular person to blow himself or herself up 19 amongst civilians? 20 A. No. 21 Q. And did you study anything that touched on the strategic 22 logic of suicide terrorism, that being what the 23 terrorist organizations' motivations were? 24 A. I didn't study political or military organizations as 25 such. What I tried to do was understand the broad</p>

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<p>1 reasons why people would become involved in violent</p> <p>2 attacks or violent forms of resistance to the</p> <p>3 occupation.</p> <p>4 Q. Did anything in your work lead you to understand the</p> <p>5 logic of leaders like Arafat or Barghouti?</p> <p>6 MR. HILL: Objection, vague, lack of foundation -- I'm</p> <p>7 sorry.</p> <p>8 MR. YALOWITZ: That's all right. Let me ask the question</p> <p>9 again.</p> <p>10 Q. Did -- did anything in your work lead you to understand</p> <p>11 the logic or motivations of leaders like Arafat and</p> <p>12 Barghouti with regard to violence against civilians?</p> <p>13 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. Vague.</p> <p>14 A. Insofar as people like Barghouti and Arafat were members</p> <p>15 of Palestinian society living under occupation, insofar</p> <p>16 as my research brought me to an understanding of why</p> <p>17 people wanted to get rid of the occupation and why some</p> <p>18 people wanted to get rid of the occupation by violent</p> <p>19 means, insofar as I understood this context as both</p> <p>20 a reflection of the specific features of the Second</p> <p>21 Intifada and the kinds of oppression and violence and</p> <p>22 insecurity and fear that characterized most people's</p> <p>23 lives during the Second Intifada, as well as my</p> <p>24 understanding of the history of occupation and the</p> <p>25 history of Palestinians in a national liberation</p>	<p>1 MR. YALOWITZ: Yeah. Of course.</p> <p>2 (2:54 p.m.)</p> <p>3 (A break was taken.)</p> <p>4 (3:11 p.m.)</p> <p>5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>6 Q. Dr. Allen, before we went on break, I think you -- you</p> <p>7 made a comment, in words or substance, that from your</p> <p>8 perspective, the violence that you observed and read</p> <p>9 about was somewhat chaotic. I don't know if you used</p> <p>10 that word, but is that a fair statement?</p> <p>11 A. I think what I said was that the situation during the</p> <p>12 Second Intifada, for Palestinians living in Occupied</p> <p>13 Territories, was chaotic, yeah.</p> <p>14 Q. And -- and so you didn't perceive patterns to the</p> <p>15 violence, or recriminations, or cycles of violence, or</p> <p>16 anything like that?</p> <p>17 MR. HILL: Objection, vague, compound.</p> <p>18 Go ahead.</p> <p>19 MR. YALOWITZ: Sure.</p> <p>20 A. When I was referring to the chaos, I think I was</p> <p>21 referring more to the subjective feeling of everyday</p> <p>22 life under occupation, which was the focus of my</p> <p>23 research. So what I was referring more to was the fact</p> <p>24 that people never knew what was going to be confronting</p> <p>25 them the next day. They never knew where the next</p>
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<p>1 movement, then, yes, part of my research did allow me to</p> <p>2 understand some aspects of how people would speak</p> <p>3 publicly or explain themselves or activities.</p> <p>4 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>5 Q. Would you agree with me that the strategic objective of</p> <p>6 the leaders of the Second Intifada, such as Arafat</p> <p>7 and Marwan Barghouti, was to end the occupation?</p> <p>8 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>9 A. I don't know that Barghouti and Arafat were leaders of</p> <p>10 the Second Intifada. My understanding of the Second</p> <p>11 Intifada was that it was a broad, confused, confusing</p> <p>12 period for everybody living in the Occupied Territories</p> <p>13 during that period.</p> <p>14 So I can't answer your question, because I don't --</p> <p>15 I don't agree with the premise that there were leaders</p> <p>16 of it.</p> <p>17 Q. Really? Let's learn together.</p> <p>18 First of all, you would agree with me that the</p> <p>19 primary goal of the Second Intifada was ending the</p> <p>20 occupation; right?</p> <p>21 A. I would agree with that.</p> <p>22 Q. So I want to take you through a little -- let's do</p> <p>23 a little case study; okay?</p> <p>24 MR. HILL: Kent, before you do the case study, can we get</p> <p>25 a restroom break?</p>	<p>1 checkpoint was going to be, or whether or not they would</p> <p>2 make it to work, or whether or not their kid would come</p> <p>3 home from school. That was the kind of sense of chaos</p> <p>4 that I was referring to.</p> <p>5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>6 Q. So did you notice patterns in the -- in the violence?</p> <p>7 A. "Patterns in the violence"?</p> <p>8 MR. HILL: Objection, vague, lack of foundation.</p> <p>9 A. I recognized patterns in responses to violence. So, for</p> <p>10 example, during different phases of the Second Intifada,</p> <p>11 it was a pattern for clashes at IDF checkpoints between</p> <p>12 youth, usually throwing stones or using slingshots,</p> <p>13 against armed Israeli military. Those kinds of clashes</p> <p>14 would often happen on Friday afternoons, especially at</p> <p>15 the beginning of the Intifada; there were patterns in</p> <p>16 which funerals, public funerals, would take place in the</p> <p>17 day after somebody was killed as a result of the</p> <p>18 occupation. That was a pattern of violence.</p> <p>19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>20 Q. And then following the funeral, there would be attacks</p> <p>21 against civilians, right, by the PA?</p> <p>22 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>23 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>24 Q. You don't recall that?</p> <p>25 A. I don't know that to be -- I have no evidence for that</p>

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1 statement.

2 Q. So do you -- let's just make a mental note of that, and  
3 come back to it, okay?

4 Do you remember there was a ceasefire in December  
5 of 2001?

6 A. I don't remember that.

7 Q. Will you accept my representation that that happened?

8 A. I will.

9 Q. Were you aware that the Palestinian Authority enforced  
10 the ceasefire with arrests of Palestinians?

11 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

12 A. I did not have first-hand evidence of the Palestinian  
13 Authority making arrests.

14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

15 Q. I'm sorry?

16 A. I didn't have first-hand evidence of -- of that.

17 Q. Did you have second- or third-hand evidence of that?

18 A. I mean, if it was reported in the press that the  
19 Palestinian Authority was arresting people, I probably  
20 would have been aware of it.

21 Q. You're just saying, sitting here today, you don't  
22 remember that?

23 A. Correct.

24 Q. All right. And were you aware in December of 2001 that  
25 the Palestinian Authority closed down charities and

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1 similar institutions affiliated with Hamas and Islamic  
2 Jihad?

3 A. I don't recall reading about that specifically, and  
4 I didn't observe it.

5 Q. You understand Hamas and Islamic Jihad to have been  
6 groups that engaged in violence against civilians;  
7 right?

8 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

9 A. I understand that there were people who claimed  
10 affiliation with the groups called Hamas or Islamic  
11 Jihad, and I understood that sometimes people claiming  
12 that affiliation claimed responsibility for different  
13 kinds of violent attacks.

14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

15 Q. Were you aware that in the last third of December 2001,  
16 PA security forces killed six Palestinians and  
17 reportedly wounded about 90 in connection with the  
18 enforcement of the ceasefire that was declared  
19 in December 2001?

20 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

21 A. I don't -- I don't recall that.

22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

23 Q. Do you recall that following that intra-Palestinian  
24 violence, Hamas announced that it would abide by the  
25 ceasefire?

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1 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

2 A. I don't recall that.

3 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

4 Q. Were you aware that Marwan Barghouti claimed credit for  
5 coordinating the cessation of attacks with Khaled Meshal  
6 of Hamas and Ramadan Shala, the leader of Islamic Jihad?

7 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

8 A. That's not something I knew about.

9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

10 Q. You do recall that on January 14th, 2002, Israeli forces  
11 killed an individual named Raed al-Karmi?

12 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

13 A. I recall there being reports about the killing of Karmi.

14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

15 Q. And does that date sound right to you, January 14th?

16 A. I don't have that chronology in my head.

17 Q. Let's see if Cordesman has it; otherwise, we can look at  
18 another document.

19 MR. YALOWITZ: Where's Cordesman? Cordesman must have it.  
20 No, he doesn't have it.

21 Okay, so we'll mark this in a moment. This will be  
22 16.

23 (Exhibit 16 marked for identification.)

24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

25 Q. All right. Will you look with me on page 121.

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1 By the way, does this refresh your recollection?

2 This is a document you've seen before; right?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. But not for some years?

5 A. I don't think so.

6 Q. You don't think so, meaning you don't think you've seen  
7 it for some years?

8 A. Correct.

9 Q. Okay. Let's look together --

10 A. And -- and I never saw it as -- I don't think as a  
11 document; I think I reviewed it online.

12 Q. Let's look at page 121 together.

13 The bottom paragraph of the text, you see there,  
14 Human Rights Watch is describing:

15 "Over a four-week period ... no suicide or other  
16 attacks inside Israel took place?"

17 A. Sorry, how does the sentence begin?

18 Q. "Over a four-week period ...."

19 A. Oh, sorry, yeah.

20 Q. Sorry. I should be paying attention to you instead of  
21 reading the document.

22 A. I found it.

23 Q. All right. We've been over this part of it; I'm just  
24 trying to orient you.

25 A. Okay.



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<p>1 Q. All right. So if you turn the page to 122, you see</p> <p>2 they're reporting that the ceasefire broke, on the</p> <p>3 Palestinian side, on January 9?</p> <p>4 A. Yes.</p> <p>5 Q. And then in the next paragraph, they report:</p> <p>6 "On January 14, following the assassination of the</p> <p>7 Tulkarem leader of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs 'Brigades, Ra'id</p> <p>8 Al-Karmi, that group announced that it was ... canceling</p> <p>9 its adherence to the cease-fire"?</p> <p>10 A. I read that.</p> <p>11 Q. All right. Does that refresh your recollection as to</p> <p>12 when al-Karmi was killed?</p> <p>13 A. I'll accept these dates as reported by Human Rights</p> <p>14 Watch.</p> <p>15 Q. All right; that's great.</p> <p>16 Now, are you aware, sitting here today, that in the</p> <p>17 mourners' tent erected in Ramallah in Karmi's</p> <p>18 memory, Marwan Barghouti told Ahmed Barghouti and those</p> <p>19 present that Karmi's death had to be avenged?</p> <p>20 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>21 A. I have no knowledge of that.</p> <p>22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>23 Q. Did you -- did you attend the mourners' tent in Ramallah</p> <p>24 in memory of Karmi?</p> <p>25 A. No.</p>	<p>1 headline is "Grilling of top Palestinian militant</p> <p>2 exposes Arafat's link to terror attacks on Israelis,</p> <p>3 papers show"?</p> <p>4 A. Yes.</p> <p>5 Q. And then after that, it says:</p> <p>6 "Transcripts of the Shin Bet interrogations of the</p> <p>7 cagily ambivalent Marwan Barghouti a decade ago show the</p> <p>8 former PLO leader avoided taking responsibility for</p> <p>9 terror attacks during the Second Intifada while</p> <p>10 bankrolling them"?</p> <p>11 A. I read that.</p> <p>12 Q. All right. And then, if you look with me, they've got</p> <p>13 some news analysis, some analysis of the -- of the</p> <p>14 reports. And then, if you look with me on page 4, they</p> <p>15 say -- well, I'll wait for you to get to page 4; take</p> <p>16 your time.</p> <p>17 A. Thank you.</p> <p>18 Q. You've not seen this before; right?</p> <p>19 A. I don't believe so, no.</p> <p>20 Q. Right. Take your time; feel free to read it carefully.</p> <p>21 I'm going to direct you to the bottom of page 4.</p> <p>22 Have you gotten to page 4 yet?</p> <p>23 A. I'm on page 4, yes.</p> <p>24 Q. Do you see at the bottom, they -- they write:</p> <p>25 "Following are abridged versions of the records from</p>
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<p>1 Q. Let's look together at a document that reports on</p> <p>2 Barghouti's statements following his arrest.</p> <p>3 MR. YALOWITZ: This will be exhibit 17.</p> <p>4 (Exhibit 17 marked for identification.)</p> <p>5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>6 Q. Do you have 17 before you?</p> <p>7 A. Yes.</p> <p>8 Q. This is from Haaretz; right?</p> <p>9 A. Yes.</p> <p>10 Q. We talked about Haaretz before?</p> <p>11 A. Yes.</p> <p>12 Q. You didn't read this article when it came out in 2012,</p> <p>13 did you?</p> <p>14 A. I don't recall so.</p> <p>15 Q. This is not something that you considered when you</p> <p>16 reached your conclusions and rendered your report;</p> <p>17 right?</p> <p>18 A. Correct.</p> <p>19 Q. Do you see that it's -- Haaretz here is reporting on</p> <p>20 Barghouti's post-arrest statements?</p> <p>21 A. On his "post-arrest statements"?</p> <p>22 Q. That's what we lawyers call confessions.</p> <p>23 MR. HILL: Where are you talking about, Kent? Which page?</p> <p>24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>25 Q. You see it says at the very -- in the very first -- the</p>	<p>1 Barghouti's interrogations..."?</p> <p>2 A. Yes.</p> <p>3 Q. Now I would like to direct your attention to the</p> <p>4 interrogation that was reported to have taken place</p> <p>5 on April 24th, which begins on page 8. Do you see that?</p> <p>6 A. Yes.</p> <p>7 Q. Directing your attention to the fifth paragraph on</p> <p>8 page 8, do you see the report is recording that:</p> <p>9 "Barghouti describes a temporary cease-fire that was</p> <p>10 agreed upon on December 16, 2001, when U.S. envoy Gen.</p> <p>11 Anthony Zinni arrived in the region"?</p> <p>12 A. I see that.</p> <p>13 Q. That's consistent with the ceasefire we've been talking</p> <p>14 about; right?</p> <p>15 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>16 A. According to your characterization of December</p> <p>17 through January as a ceasefire.</p> <p>18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>19 Q. Well, but it's not just my characterization; that's what</p> <p>20 Human Rights Watch said as well. Right?</p> <p>21 A. Okay. Yes.</p> <p>22 Q. I mean, I'm just a lawyer; I didn't live through it.</p> <p>23 A. Yes.</p> <p>24 Q. All right. Now, the next sentence reads:</p> <p>25 "On Arafat's orders, says Barghouti, I coordinated</p>

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<p>1 a cessation of the attacks with Khaled Meshal of Hamas 2 and Ramadan Shalah, leader of Islamic Jihad, both in 3 Damascus." 4 You see that? 5 A. Yes. 6 Q. Do you know who those individuals are? Khaled Meshal: 7 Have you ever heard of Khaled Meshal? 8 A. I have heard of Khaled Meshal as a leader of Hamas. 9 Q. And have you heard of Ramadan Shala -- 10 A. No. 11 Q. -- leader of Islamic Jihad? 12 A. Except that I think his name came up a few moments ago 13 in our conversation. 14 Q. That's the first time you've heard of him? 15 A. To my recollection. 16 Q. All right. Then the next sentence in the report of 17 Barghouti's interrogation reads: 18 "The violence was renewed in full force a month 19 later, after Israel assassinated Raed Karmi." 20 Do you see that? 21 A. Yes. 22 Q. That's consistent with what we've been seeing; right? 23 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 24 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 25 Q. We saw Human Rights Watch reported that this --</p>	<p>1 A. Yes. 2 Q. By Marwan Barghouti; right? 3 A. Yes. 4 Q. And the headline is: "Want Security? End the 5 Occupation." Right? 6 A. Yes. 7 Q. Did you read this document when it was published by the 8 Washington Post in January 2002? 9 A. I may have, but I don't recall specifically. 10 Q. Directing your attention to the final paragraph on the 11 front page: Do you see that? 12 A. Yes. 13 Q. Barghouti writes: 14 "The only way for Israelis to have security is, 15 quite simply, to end the 35-year-old Israeli occupation 16 of Palestinian territory. Israel must abandon the myth 17 that it is possible to have peace and occupation at the 18 same time, that peaceful coexistence is possible between 19 slave and master. The lack of Israeli security is born 20 of the lack of Palestinian freedom. Israel will have 21 security only after the end of the occupation, not 22 before." 23 Do you see that? 24 A. Yes. 25 Q. That is consistent with Pape's thesis; right?</p>
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<p>1 A. We saw that Human Rights Watch reported a similar 2 chronology of events. 3 Q. And then this is the sentence that I was asking you 4 about earlier, which you said you didn't know: 5 "Barghouti admits that in the mourners' tent erected 6 in Ramallah in Karmi's memory, he told Ahmed Barghouti 7 and those present that Karmi's death had to be avenged." 8 A. I read that. 9 Q. And you were not aware of that when you reached your 10 conclusions and rendered your report; right? 11 A. I was not aware that this was reported. Mm-hmm. 12 Q. Thank you. 13 Now, are you -- sitting here today, are you aware 14 that two days following the January 14th killing of 15 Karmi, Marwan Barghouti published an op-ed piece in the 16 Washington Post? 17 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 18 A. I don't recall it. 19 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 20 Q. Why don't we look together at it. 21 (Exhibit 18 marked for identification.) 22 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 23 Q. All right. Do you have 18 before you? 24 A. Yes. 25 Q. Washington Post editorial; right?</p>	<p>1 MR. HILL: Objection, vague. 2 A. I think that Pape's thesis is -- I don't think Pape's 3 thesis is specifically about what's required for peace 4 between Israel and Palestine. 5 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 6 Q. Fair enough. Let me ask a more directed question. 7 Pape's thesis is that suicide terrorism is 8 undertaken by political actors to achieve the political 9 objective of ending military occupation; right? 10 A. That's one of his claims, yes. 11 Q. And here Barghouti is saying: If you, Israel, want 12 security, you have to end the military occupation. 13 Right? 14 A. Yes. 15 Q. And so the threat embedded in that statement is: If you 16 don't end the occupation, we will consider -- we will 17 continue attacks on civilians. Right? 18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. 19 A. What Barghouti is saying is that so long as there is 20 military occupation, Israel can't live in security. 21 That's what he's saying. 22 BY MR. YALOWITZ: 23 Q. And were you aware that within a day of publishing this 24 article in the Washington Post, the Al-Aqsa Martyr 25 Brigades started a new round of violence against</p>

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<p>1 civilians in Israel?</p> <p>2 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>3 A. I have no knowledge of what people who may have claimed</p> <p>4 to have been Al-Aqsa Martyr Brigades were doing in this</p> <p>5 period.</p> <p>6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>7 Q. So were you aware that on January 17th, an Al-Aqsa</p> <p>8 Brigade gunman attacked a bar mitzvah celebration in the</p> <p>9 Israeli city of Hadera, killing six and wounding several</p> <p>10 dozen before being shot to death?</p> <p>11 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>12 A. I have no knowledge of that event.</p> <p>13 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>14 Q. Let's look at Human Rights Watch and see if that rings</p> <p>15 a bell for you.</p> <p>16 Do you have the Human Rights Watch report?</p> <p>17 A. Yes.</p> <p>18 Q. Look on page 122, if we can find it -- here it is.</p> <p>19 Let me know when you're there: 122.</p> <p>20 A. Yes.</p> <p>21 Q. Do you have it?</p> <p>22 A. I have page 122.</p> <p>23 Q. You see where they report:</p> <p>24 "On January 17, an Al-Aqsa Brigades gunman attacked</p> <p>25 a bat mitzvah celebration"?</p>	<p>1 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>2 A. What I recall is that something to that effect was</p> <p>3 claimed in one of the reports that I read, and I have no</p> <p>4 other external understanding of Ahmed Barghouti or his</p> <p>5 relationship.</p> <p>6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>7 Q. And do you know what the relationship is between Nasser</p> <p>8 Aweis and Marwan and Ahmed Barghouti?</p> <p>9 A. No.</p> <p>10 MR. HILL: Objection.</p> <p>11 A. No, sorry.</p> <p>12 MR. HILL: It's okay.</p> <p>13 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>14 Q. Are you aware that Nasser Aweis worked for the</p> <p>15 PA security services?</p> <p>16 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>17 A. I have no knowledge of Nasser Aweis or who he worked</p> <p>18 for.</p> <p>19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>20 Q. And so I take it you -- it would be news to you if</p> <p>21 I told that you that he was convicted of the murders</p> <p>22 carried out in the attack on January 17th, 2002, on the</p> <p>23 bat mitzvah in Hadera?</p> <p>24 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>25 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p>
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<p>1 A. I see that that's reported here.</p> <p>2 Q. Right. Do you have any reason to doubt the facts that</p> <p>3 are being reported in Human Rights Watch report?</p> <p>4 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>5 A. Again, I -- I have no personal knowledge of this event.</p> <p>6 I see that Human Rights Watch reported this event;</p> <p>7 I don't see what basis Human Rights Watch cites for</p> <p>8 making these claims, aside from a prior footnote where</p> <p>9 they're citing IDF -- Israeli Defense Force statements.</p> <p>10 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>11 Q. Are you aware -- by the way, do you know who Ahmed</p> <p>12 Barghouti is, that was referenced in the Haaretz</p> <p>13 article?</p> <p>14 MR. HILL: Objection, asked and answered. Lack of</p> <p>15 foundation.</p> <p>16 A. I don't know him. I know that he's referenced in one of</p> <p>17 the reports that I read.</p> <p>18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>19 Q. Do you know what his relationship was with Marwan</p> <p>20 Barghouti?</p> <p>21 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>22 A. I do not know his relationship.</p> <p>23 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>24 Q. Would it ring any bells if I told you he was his</p> <p>25 personal driver?</p>	<p>1 Q. Is that right?</p> <p>2 A. I recall that his case was discussed in at least one of</p> <p>3 the reports that I reviewed.</p> <p>4 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>5 Q. Were you aware or are you aware that on January 22,</p> <p>6 five days after the Hadera attack, an Al-Aqsa Brigades</p> <p>7 gunman opened fire in West Jerusalem injuring</p> <p>8 16 Israelis, all civilians, two of whom later died from</p> <p>9 their wounds?</p> <p>10 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>11 A. I have no knowledge of that event, but I see it reported</p> <p>12 here on page 122 of this report.</p> <p>13 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>14 Q. Were you aware that that gunman was a security officer</p> <p>15 of the Palestinian Authority?</p> <p>16 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>17 A. As I said, I'm not knowledgeable of this event.</p> <p>18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>19 Q. Were you aware that five additional members of the</p> <p>20 PA security forces were convicted of murder for their</p> <p>21 part in planning that attack?</p> <p>22 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>23 A. I don't know about the convictions of people who were</p> <p>24 allegedly associated with this attack.</p> <p>25 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p>

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<p>1 Q. And so then I take it it would be news to you that one</p> <p>2 of those five convicted was Ahmed Barghouti; right?</p> <p>3 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>4 A. As I said, I recall that his case was discussed in one</p> <p>5 of the reports that I reviewed for this.</p> <p>6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>7 Q. And are you aware, sitting here today, that those five</p> <p>8 surviving conspirators are still members of the</p> <p>9 Palestinian Authority security force, getting paid and</p> <p>10 promoted by the Palestinian Authority while they sit in</p> <p>11 jail for their murders?</p> <p>12 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>13 A. I do not know about the conditions of the people that</p> <p>14 you're referring to, nor do I know about who the</p> <p>15 Palestinian Authority is paying or for what.</p> <p>16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>17 Q. Were you aware that on January 27th, 11 days</p> <p>18 after Marwan Barghouti published his op-ed piece in the</p> <p>19 Washington Post, Wafa Idris blew herself up on a street</p> <p>20 in Jerusalem?</p> <p>21 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>22 A. I don't know about this event, beyond what I read in the</p> <p>23 press and see in front of me in this report.</p> <p>24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>25 Q. Have you ever read any Palestinian Authority military</p>	<p>1 A. Not that I'm aware of, no.</p> <p>2 Q. You see, because you wrote in your report that you</p> <p>3 didn't know of any evidence of the PA recruiting suicide</p> <p>4 terrorists; remember that?</p> <p>5 A. Yes.</p> <p>6 Q. And so when you reached that conclusion and rendered</p> <p>7 that opinion in your report, you were unaware of the</p> <p>8 statements that Mr. Noor gave saying that members of PA</p> <p>9 military intelligence recruited Wafa Idris; right?</p> <p>10 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>11 A. I did not review statements by Mr. Noor.</p> <p>12 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>13 Q. All right. Did you go to Idris's funeral?</p> <p>14 A. No.</p> <p>15 Q. You don't have any information about the relationship</p> <p>16 between Arafat and Marwan Barghouti; right?</p> <p>17 A. No.</p> <p>18 Q. You didn't read any of Marwan Barghouti's statements</p> <p>19 about his relationship with Arafat that he gave to the</p> <p>20 authorities following his arrest; correct?</p> <p>21 A. Correct.</p> <p>22 Q. Are we good, or you want to take a break?</p> <p>23 A. I'm okay.</p> <p>24 Q. You relied on an individual named Richard Falk in your</p> <p>25 report?</p>
Page 178	Page 180
<p>1 intelligence documents about the Wafa Idris attack?</p> <p>2 A. No.</p> <p>3 Q. Do you have any reason to doubt that the PA military</p> <p>4 intelligence was -- was involved in or aware of the Wafa</p> <p>5 Idris attack?</p> <p>6 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>7 A. I have no knowledge of what the Palestinian Authority</p> <p>8 may or may not have -- what was the question? Sorry.</p> <p>9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>10 Q. Sure. Did they -- well, let me ask it again; let me ask</p> <p>11 it again.</p> <p>12 Do you have any knowledge of the involvement of</p> <p>13 PA military intelligence in the Wafa Idris suicide</p> <p>14 bombing?</p> <p>15 A. I do not know about PA military intelligence activities.</p> <p>16 Q. All right. You're aware that the PA gives Wafa Idris's</p> <p>17 family money even today; right?</p> <p>18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.</p> <p>19 A. I think you asked me that once before, and I do not have</p> <p>20 any knowledge of what money the PA may pay to the family</p> <p>21 of Wafa Idris.</p> <p>22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:</p> <p>23 Q. With regard to the involvement of Idris and her</p> <p>24 recruitment, you didn't look at any statements given to</p> <p>25 the authorities by Moonzer Noor, did you?</p>	<p>1 A. I cite him in my report, yes.</p> <p>2 Q. Do you understand that there are people who do not</p> <p>3 regard him as being a credible source?</p> <p>4 A. I understand that there are people who object to what he</p> <p>5 says.</p> <p>6 Q. There are people who think he's a kook; right?</p> <p>7 A. That, I don't know.</p> <p>8 Q. Do you -- do you know that he's a September 11th</p> <p>9 conspiracy theorist?</p> <p>10 A. I do not know if this professor emeritus from,</p> <p>11 I believe, Princeton University has particular views</p> <p>12 about September 11.</p> <p>13 Q. Do you know that he's been reported as alleging that</p> <p>14 there was a US government conspiracy about</p> <p>15 the September 11th hijackings?</p> <p>16 A. I don't know if it's been reported that he believes that</p> <p>17 there is US involvement.</p> <p>18 Q. Would -- would such a report diminish his credibility in</p> <p>19 your eyes?</p> <p>20 A. A report is not the same as evidence that he holds these</p> <p>21 particular views.</p> <p>22 Q. Do you believe that there was a government conspiracy</p> <p>23 about the September 11th hijackings?</p> <p>24 A. I do not have that belief, no.</p> <p>25 Q. Do you support the -- have you ever supported an</p>

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1 academic boycott of Israel?

2 A. Yes, I support the academic boycott of Israel.

3 Q. How come?

4 A. Because I think that the occupation needs to end, and  
5 people have run out of ways of trying to come to that  
6 resolution, and the boycott is one peaceful means of  
7 both trying to convince the Israeli public that things  
8 can't continue with the occupation as they are, and  
9 I think that the academic boycott is also a way that  
10 people can come together to try to find a peaceful means  
11 to encourage a more peaceful resolution to the conflict.

12 Q. There are many people in the Arab world who argue that  
13 the occupation is not just of the West Bank, or the West  
14 Bank and Gaza, but is of the entire geographic territory  
15 from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea; you've  
16 heard that argument, I'm sure?

17 A. I have.

18 Q. Do you share that view?

19 A. No. The occupation is, I believe, defined under  
20 international law as being the West Bank, Gaza Strip,  
21 and East Jerusalem.

22 Q. Do you -- do you understand the view of those who argue  
23 that the occupation is of the entire geographic  
24 territory?

25 A. I think I understand where that view comes from and the

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1 history in which it is based.

2 Q. And what do you think of that view?

3 A. I think that it's not helpful for the resolution of the  
4 conflict.

5 Q. You have a couple of comments in your report about  
6 torture.

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. You're -- I think we established earlier, you're not  
9 expert on the subject of torture; right?

10 MR. HILL: Objection, misstates the testimony. She can  
11 respond.

12 A. I have written about torture of Palestinians in Israeli  
13 prisons. I have read extensive human rights  
14 organizations' documentation of torture of Palestinians  
15 in Israeli prisons. And I've spoken to many people who  
16 have experienced, first hand, torture in Israeli  
17 prisons.

18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

19 Q. Have you -- have you written about mistreatment of  
20 Palestinians by the government of Lebanon?

21 A. I haven't written much about Lebanon, so no, I don't  
22 think that I have.

23 Q. Have you read about mistreatment of the Palestinian  
24 refugees by the government of Lebanon?

25 A. Yes.

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1 Q. You would agree with me that there is significant  
2 mistreatment of those people; right?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. You would agree with me that Palestinian refugees in  
5 Syria have a terrible lot in life; right?

6 A. I would agree that pretty much everyone in Syria has  
7 a terrible lot in life right now, yes.

8 Q. Have you written about abuses of Palestinian people at  
9 the hands of the Palestinian Authority?

10 A. I believe that I have discussed the abuse -- yes,  
11 I have.

12 Q. What have you written about that?

13 A. Well, I mean, I'm trying to think of where,  
14 specifically. I believe that in my book, or perhaps in  
15 articles that I've written, I've discussed the fact that  
16 detainees in Palestinian prisons have been mistreated,  
17 sometimes to the point of death.

18 Q. Have you discussed that topic with regard to Hamas --  
19 Hamas? How do you say it?

20 A. Hamas.

21 Which topic? The mistreatment --

22 Q. The topic of mistreatment of prisoners to the point of  
23 death.

24 A. By Hamas?

25 Q. Yes.

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1 A. I'm trying to think if that comes up in my book.

2 It's -- it may appear in my book.

3 Q. You're aware that it exists; right?

4 A. Indeed -- well, how about this: I'm aware that there  
5 are reports by credible human rights organizations that  
6 abuse of prisoners in Hamas prisons happens, yes.

7 Q. You cite in your report a case report from an  
8 organization called B'Tselem as evidence about torture  
9 in Israeli prisons; right?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And the particular case report is a report about an  
12 individual whose testimony was suppressed because the  
13 court concluded that his statements had been coerced;  
14 right?

15 A. I --

16 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

17 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

18 Q. Do you recall that?

19 A. I -- I recall reading such a B'Tselem report; I'm not  
20 sure if I cited it in the report.

21 Q. Fair enough.

22 Why don't I give you a -- fair enough; let me --  
23 let's do it more slowly. Let me give you a copy of it,  
24 and we'll check that it's the one you cited in your  
25 report, and then we can talk about it.



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(Exhibit 19 marked for identification.)

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. So, directing your attention to page 22 of your report -- do you have it?

A. Yes.

Q. So the last sentence on page 22, you write that:

"... B'Tselem, other human rights organizations, as well the United Nations, have extensive documentation of the torture and forced confessions that Palestinian political prisoners are subjected to in Israeli jails, and it is therefore incumbent on the PA to call attention to these issues."

That's your assertion in your report, on page 22; right?

A. Yes.

Q. And then you -- and this is -- this is as support for the topic sentence at the beginning of the paragraph:

"... it must be noted that the PA did not encourage the killing of civilians."

Right?

A. Yes.

Q. Okay. So I guess the first question is: How does that sentence support your topic sentence? I don't -- I don't get it.

MR. HILL: Objection, vague, ambiguous. The witness can

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respond.

MR. YALOWITZ: "I don't get it" is not ambiguous. It's very clear.

MR. HILL: Well, I'm not sure what you're -- I'm not sure what --

MR. YALOWITZ: I don't get it.

MR. HILL: I'm not sure what you don't get, is my objection; but the witness can respond.

WITNESS: I'll respond. One moment, please.

A. These sentences come together in a paragraph where I am trying to point out the vague and ideological uses of particular words in Marcus's report, including his blanket equation of resistance for terror.

This paragraph is also showing that in Marcus's report, he's incorrectly coalescing -- or claiming that anyone who -- I believe he's in this section -- he's claiming that Palestinian Authority responses to or appreciation of the difficult situation of Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli jails is something distinct from -- that you -- that you can't say that people who are in prison in Israeli jails are people who were sent to kill on PA orders. I'm saying that those things cannot be equated.

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. So --

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A. And so -- if I just can continue --

BY MR. YALOWITZ:

Q. Sure, sure. Sorry; I didn't mean to interrupt. Go ahead.

A. What I'm trying to point out with the final reference to human rights and UN organizations that document the maltreatment and torture of Palestinian political prisoners is to show that people who -- Palestinians who were in Israeli jails may very well have also been convicted under Israeli military courts as a result of forced confessions, under torture.

Q. Okay.

A. So -- yes.

Q. Okay.

A. I'll stop.

Q. I think I understand. So you're using the concept of torture in order to draw into question the validity of the convictions of people sitting in Israeli jails; is that right?

A. Not exactly. I'm saying that human rights organizations have called into question the validity of convictions of Palestinians sitting in Israeli jails; but what I'm doing is trying to address what I see are misinterpretations or equations of terms that do not equate, in Marcus's report.

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Q. So you've mentioned political prisoners a couple of times.

A. Yes.

Q. What does that mean? What's a political prisoner?

A. A political prisoner is somebody who has been put in jail for political reasons, or -- or I would use that term to refer to Palestinians who were put in Israeli jails as a result of their resistance to the occupation. They're political prisoners because they are involved, and seen by Palestinians to be involved, in a political act.

Q. So like we've put in jail, in the United States, people who've committed acts of violence against civilians for political purposes; we call those people terrorists. You're familiar with that; right?

A. Yes.

Q. And would you consider those people to be political prisoners because they committed their crimes for political reasons?

A. As I said, when I use the term "political prisoner," I am referring to the perception among Palestinians, the understanding that people who are in Israeli jails for acts committed in resistance to the occupation are seen in a nationalist context. The people who we may be referring to in US prisons may very well be thought of

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<p>1 by some as political prisoners; it depends on the  2 perspective from which you're -- you're assessing what  3 these people have done.  4 The people that I'm referring to are people who are  5 involved in a collective nationalist liberation --  6 liberation movement -- or effort; I wouldn't call it  7 a movement, because it's not quite that unified.  8 Q. Do you understand that in a war of national liberation,  9 it is a war crime to perpetrate violence against  10 civilians?  11 A. I'm not an expert on international or humanitarian or  12 human rights law. I know that there are a variety of UN  13 General Assembly resolutions that -- that give  14 Palestinians or other people living in colonial  15 situations the right to resist occupation, or resist  16 colonialism, or seek liberation by all necessary means;  17 and I know that most Palestinians, regardless of whether  18 or not they can name the specific UN General Assembly  19 resolutions, believe it to be their right to struggle  20 against the occupation, including by violence.  21 I also understand there are a variety of opinions  22 about what are the correct or moral or strategic or  23 appropriate targets of that kind of violence to end  24 occupation.  25 Q. Do you think there is any country anywhere in the world</p>	<p>1 acts of violence against civilians in Jerusalem. Let's  2 suppose further that they are arrested, they readily  3 admit their crimes, they are duly convicted based on  4 their confessions, or indeed in many cases they plead.  5 And assume further that at sentencing, they announce:  6 "I am proud of what I did, and I would do it again."  7 Do you think those people have violated the law of  8 nations?  9 MR. HILL: Objection, incomplete hypothetical, lack of  10 foundation, improper hypothetical for this witness. But  11 she can respond.  12 MR. YALOWITZ: Sure.  13 A. I don't know what the law of nations is that you're  14 referring to.  15 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  16 Q. Okay. Do you think those people are criminals?  17 MR. HILL: Same objections. And vague.  18 Go ahead.  19 A. It -- it depends on -- I mean, a criminal is -- can be  20 an -- I don't know how to answer a vague question.  21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  22 Q. Do you think those people are political prisoners?  23 A. I think that people in that situation would be regarded  24 by Palestinians as political prisoners.  25 Q. How do you regard them?</p>
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<p>1 where it is legal to perpetrate -- purposefully  2 perpetrate violence against unarmed civilians to achieve  3 political goals?  4 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  5 A. I don't know about all countries in the world, but  6 I think it's the case that terrorism, according to the  7 definition that we agreed based on the Mitchell  8 Commission at the beginning of this conversation, is not  9 permitted.  10 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  11 Q. And -- and so people who've been convicted of terrorism,  12 as you and I have agreed on it, are -- are actual  13 criminals; right?  14 MR. HILL: Objection, vague. The witness can respond.  15 A. The fact that someone has been convicted of terrorism  16 does not mean necessarily that they have committed  17 terrorist acts. The definition of somebody as  18 a criminal is -- is only relevant to a particular legal  19 system.  20 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  21 Q. Okay. So -- so do you think that -- well, do you think  22 that people who -- let me give you a hypothetical:  23 You're an academic; I can give you a hypothetical.  24 Suppose that five members of the Palestinian  25 Authority security force conspire together to perpetrate</p>	<p>1 A. Yes, I think they're political prisoners.  2 Q. And do you think they're also criminals?  3 A. I don't -- I don't understand what -- what you mean by  4 "criminal." If somebody has committed a crime, it's  5 a crime defined by a particular legal system. So by one  6 legal system, they may be defined as criminals.  7 Q. Do you think that the -- they would -- do you think  8 there is a legal -- do you think that the Palestinian  9 Authority legal system would not define them as  10 criminals?  11 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.  12 A. I don't know.  13 Q. All right.  14 MR. YALOWITZ: Have we marked -- have we marked that  15 B'Tselem document? We have?  16 MR. HILL: It's 19.  17 BY MR. YALOWITZ:  18 Q. So looking at 19, is that the document that you cite at  19 the beginning of footnote 85 in your report?  20 A. The URL that I cite is I believe to a topic page on the  21 B'Tselem website that is about torture in general. What  22 you've given me is a specific -- a specific article that  23 doesn't have a full URL, but only the URL to the home  24 page of B'Tselem. So I don't think that this is the  25 same document.</p>

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1 Q. I don't know where I've got it. Bear with me.

2 Have you ever seen this document before?

3 A. I believe so.

4 MR. YALOWITZ: Let's see if we can find it in your report.

5 I'm quite sure I got it from your report. Why don't --  
6 do we have -- do we have an Internet connection? Why  
7 don't we just check it. Why don't we just check it.

8 You know, I did it myself, I typed it in your URL,  
9 so I think this is it, but I'm just not 100 percent  
10 sure. I'm quite sure I got it from your report, but I'm  
11 just not sure where.

12 REPORTER: Do you mind if we just had a quick break --

13 MR. YALOWITZ: Yeah. No, let's take a break; we'll try to  
14 figure this out off the record.

15 Q. Anyway, before we go off, you have seen it?

16 A. I believe so.

17 Q. And did you cite it in your report?

18 A. That, I don't recall. As I said, I don't think it's  
19 what I'm referring to in footnote 85.

20 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay, let's go off, at Fiona's request.  
21 (4:07 p.m.)

22 (A break was taken.)

23 (4:16 p.m.)

24 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

25 Q. We were talking before the break about political

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1 A. I see that B'Tselem is reporting that this confession

2 was ruled inadmissible because it was given unwillingly,  
3 and that such a decision is unusual.

4 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

5 Q. The court held a hearing -- I'm just looking for this.

6 Do you recall that the court held a hearing to decide  
7 whether the confession was willing or unwilling?

8 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

9 A. I don't.

10 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

11 Q. Here it is. So in the second paragraph, fourth line,  
12 the sentence begins:

13 "In the court hearing, Hamidah, who was represented  
14 by attorney Tareq Barghout, testified that he had  
15 confessed only due to the interrogators' pressure."  
16 Right?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. So the court held a hearing about his confession; right?

19 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

20 A. According to this B'Tselem report, that's what happened.

21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

22 Q. And you found B'Tselem to be a reliable reporter of the  
23 facts; right?

24 A. Generally speaking, yes, I find it to be a credible  
25 human rights organization.

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1 prisoners --

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. -- and crime; remember that?

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. So do you know Michael Sfard?

6 A. No.

7 Q. Do you know who he is?

8 A. I've heard the name.

9 Q. He's a human rights lawyer in Israel.

10 A. Okay.

11 Q. He worked on a report with LAW, because he was  
12 associated with the Public Committee Against Torture in  
13 Israel. Is that ringing a bell to you?

14 A. I'm familiar with the Public Committee Against Torture;  
15 I don't know Mr. Sfard.

16 Q. All right. I'll leave that alone; okay.

17 Look at exhibit 19 with me.

18 A. Okay.

19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

20 Q. Do you have that in front of you?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. That's a case report about an Israeli military court  
23 acquitting a defendant on the ground that his  
24 post-arrest statements were involuntary; right?

25 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

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1 Q. And are you aware of the variety of -- of reporting  
2 channels for allegations of coercion by Palestinian  
3 prisoners on the part of Israeli interrogators?

4 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation, vague.

5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

6 Q. It wasn't a very well-formed question. Did you  
7 understand it, or should I say it again?

8 A. Say it again, please.

9 Q. Sure.

10 You've alleged in your report that there is coercion  
11 of Palestinian prisoners in interrogations by Israeli  
12 officials; right?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And you've used that to call into question the  
15 convictions of various Palestinians for acts that you  
16 and I have agreed on are terrorism; is that true?

17 MR. HILL: Objection, misstates the witness's testimony.  
18 She can respond.

19 A. No, that's not what I do in my report. What I do is  
20 call on countless human rights organizations,  
21 documentation of the -- the practice of receiving forced  
22 confession from Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails,  
23 and I call on that information as a way of pointing out  
24 some of the vaguenesses and inaccuracies of conclusion  
25 or of logic in Marcus's report, specifically.

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1 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

2 Q. Okay. Thank you for that clarification.

3 So first of all, I have it right; you certainly  
4 don't have an opinion about any of the 21 convictions  
5 that relate to our case. Right?

6 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

7 A. I don't know -- no, I don't have an opinion about those  
8 specific cases.

9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

10 Q. And you don't have an opinion on whether Marwan  
11 Barghouti's confession was freely given; right?

12 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

13 A. Sorry, I have no -- I have no basis for -- for having an  
14 opinion.

15 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

16 Q. Do you have a sense as to how many channels there are  
17 for Palestinians to complain of maltreatment at the  
18 hands of the Israeli authorities in custody?

19 A. I have a sense, based on reading of multiple human  
20 rights organizations' reports as well as UN reports,  
21 that the majority of Palestinians who do try to object  
22 to their treatment in Israeli prisons receive no  
23 satisfaction, and that as a result, many Palestinians  
24 who are maltreated do not feel like there's any point in  
25 wasting their time or money or energy in trying to seek

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1 any kind of compensation or justice in a military court  
2 system that is set up to uphold an occupation that they  
3 resist.

4 When the judges and the judged are the same people,  
5 it's very difficult for anyone to expect actual justice  
6 to come out at the end. And I believe that's a point  
7 that B'Tselem, among other human rights organizations,  
8 has made; including, I believe, UN human rights  
9 investigations as well.

10 MR. YALOWITZ: What was my question? Can you find it?

11 (Record read.)

12 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

13 A. Can you answer my question "yes" or "no"?

14 MR. HILL: Objection.

15 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

16 Q. Do you have a sense of how many channels there are for  
17 complaints?

18 MR. HILL: Objection, asked and answered, lack of  
19 foundation, vague. The witness can respond again.

20 A. I have a sense of some channels that could be pursued.

21 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

22 Q. How many do you think there are?

23 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation. The witness can  
24 respond.

25 A. Two or three.

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1 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

2 Q. That's all you can think of?

3 A. I can think of what any reasonable detainee or family of  
4 a detainee would -- in Palestinian -- occupied  
5 Palestinian territories, I can think of about three  
6 channels that they may think of pursuing.

7 Q. Is it fair to say that -- I think we talked about this  
8 at the beginning of your deposition: Is it fair to say  
9 that this just really isn't your area of expertise,  
10 interrogation techniques?

11 MR. HILL: Objection, asked and answered, misstates the  
12 witness's testimony. But she can respond again.

13 A. My area of expertise is in understanding how  
14 Palestinians perceive their life and situation under  
15 Israeli occupation. I am not an expert in Israeli legal  
16 systems; I am not an international human rights or  
17 humanitarian law expert.

18 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

19 Q. Thank you.

20 Is -- do you recall an individual named Fares Ouda?

21 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

22 A. I recall reading about Fares Ouda.

23 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

24 Q. What -- what do you understand Fares Ouda did?

25 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

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1 A. I recall reading about Fares Ouda being a teenager or  
2 adolescent Palestinian, I believe from the Gaza Strip,  
3 who was killed at -- I believe at a -- at a clash in  
4 which he was throwing stones at an Israeli tank, and he  
5 was killed. I believe it's reported that he was killed  
6 either by fire from the tank or from Israeli forces.

7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

8 Q. Fares Ouda was 14 years old when he died; right?

9 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

10 A. I recall that he was a youth. I don't know the exact  
11 date.

12 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

13 Q. Are you aware, sitting here today, that he made  
14 a wreath, a funeral wreath, and wrote on the funeral  
15 wreath "The Shahid, Fares Ouda"?

16 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

17 A. I recall reading a news report that reported that he did  
18 this.

19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

20 Q. Is -- is that typical of 14-year-olds in the Gaza Strip  
21 and the West Bank, that they -- that they preordain  
22 their deaths by writing "The Martyr, Fares Ouda," or  
23 something like that?

24 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

25 A. I don't recall hearing about other youths naming

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1 themselves "Martyr" and writing this on a wreath, but  
2 I do have a strong sense that many youth, during  
3 especially the Second Intifada, as well as adults,  
4 had -- had a sense that they could be killed at any  
5 time.

6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

7 Q. Did -- did you ever see images of Yasser Arafat  
8 encouraging children to idolize Fares Ouda?

9 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

10 A. I do not recall seeing Yasser Arafat trying to encourage  
11 children to emulate Fares Ouda.

12 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

13 Q. Why don't we show you a video; see if that refreshes  
14 your recollection.

15 (Video played.)

16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

17 Q. Have you ever seen videos like that before?

18 A. No.

19 Q. What do you think?

20 MR. HILL: Objection, vague.

21 A. I think that Arafat was speaking about the values of  
22 Palestinian society that appreciates, as he said,  
23 steadfastness and self-sacrifice in the way of  
24 confronting the occupation.

25 And I think that in addition, Fares Ouda in this

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1 context represents a symbol of suffering of youth who  
2 are killed for throwing stones at tanks, and the values  
3 of self-sacrifice are part of a nationalist context that  
4 are typical of nationalist and resistance contexts in  
5 many other places in many other places, in many other  
6 areas.

7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

8 Q. Did you see the children cheering about Fares Ouda on  
9 the video there?

10 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

11 A. I saw children cheering, and I saw Arafat speaking.

12 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

13 Q. Did you -- you didn't make a connection between the two?

14 A. I don't know what those children were specifically  
15 cheering, but given the fact that the speech was about  
16 Palestinian nationalist values, and because this was  
17 expressed by a president who was expressing also  
18 appreciation or even pride in the fact that Palestinians  
19 are willing to -- to fight the occupation, it makes  
20 sense to me that the children appreciated that as well,  
21 because they also were living under the occupation and  
22 living in a situation -- I don't know when this video  
23 was from, but if it was during the Second Intifada, they  
24 were living in a situation of heightened nationalist  
25 enthusiasm.

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1 Q. Do you think that the children were appropriately  
2 enthusiastic in cheering for the martyr Fares Ouda?

3 MR. HILL: Objection, vague, lack of foundation.

4 A. I have no basis from which to make an assessment about  
5 what Palestinian children's cheering is appropriate or  
6 not.

7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

8 Q. Do you think it was incitement for Arafat to be telling  
9 children, "Be like Fares Ouda"?

10 A. No, I don't think that -- first of all, I don't think  
11 that Arafat was saying "Be like Fares Ouda." I think  
12 that he was expressing a nationalist pride in  
13 steadfastness in the face of the occupation, and he was  
14 expressing a nationalist pride for the spirit of  
15 self-sacrifice that is part of a nationalist situation.

16 Q. Do you think it's okay for children 14 and under to  
17 aspire to die for their country?

18 A. I understand why Palestinians of all ages felt  
19 compelled, ready and willing to sacrifice themselves,  
20 because they thought -- if they thought that it would  
21 bring an end to occupation.

22 I also understand that there was a variety of  
23 efforts among Palestinians, throughout Palestinian  
24 society, to channel Palestinian children's nationalist  
25 spirit and energies in ways that were less dangerous

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1 than going bare-chested with a rock to confront Israeli  
2 soldiers in tanks that were, according to the statistics  
3 of the Second Intifada, very likely to -- to fire at  
4 unarmed youth.

5 And so there were other kinds of outlets that were  
6 being presented to children to continue their education,  
7 to express themselves in demonstrations, and to stay out  
8 of harm's way.

9 Q. Do you -- are you familiar with the slogan "A million  
10 martyrs marching to Jerusalem"?

11 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

12 A. I believe that is something that Arafat said in a  
13 speech.

14 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

15 Q. Do you think that's incitement?

16 A. No.

17 Q. Can you see how that would be perceived as incitement?

18 A. Given the fact that martyrdom, in Palestinian society,  
19 was a term of both solidarity for people who died as  
20 a result of occupation violence, given that martyrdom  
21 reference referred to -- or the term "martyr" referred  
22 to anyone who was deemed to have died as a result of  
23 occupation, and that this was a term of respect and  
24 a way of expressing solidarity with the people whose  
25 lives had been -- had been decimated by the loss of



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1 their relative, I don't think that this kind of  
2 expression was one of incitement, but was rather a term  
3 of appreciation for people who expressed -- whether  
4 through living or dying -- expressed values of  
5 a nationalist society that appreciated the importance of  
6 self-sacrifice and resistance to a belligerent military  
7 occupation.

8 Q. Okay, I really don't get that. Are you saying that  
9 "A million martyrs marching to Jerusalem" was respect of  
10 people who had already died, like they were zombies or  
11 something?

12 MR. HILL: Objection. Argumentative. The witness can  
13 respond.

14 A. I don't know the context in which Arafat made this  
15 statement, or what else he said before or after the  
16 statement, if I'm correct in thinking that it was  
17 Arafat, and just to say that "martyr" -- the term  
18 "martyr" refers to anyone who is deemed to have died as  
19 a result of occupation, regardless of whether or not  
20 they were somebody who was shot dead walking home from  
21 the grocery store or shot dead sitting in a classroom or  
22 killed underneath the demolition bulldozers of the  
23 Israeli occupation army, in addition to people who were  
24 deemed to have been -- to have died as a result of the  
25 occupation, or in trying to end the occupation through

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1 other kinds of acts -- or violent acts.

2 So because the term "martyr" encompasses this  
3 variety of kinds of people, and because the term is  
4 a heavily symbolic term that is primarily a term of  
5 respect and appreciation for Palestinian nationalist  
6 values, on that basis, I cannot come to the conclusion  
7 that that statement was a statement of incitement.

8 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

9 Q. Dr. Allen, a million martyrs marching to Jerusalem were  
10 not people walking home from school; right?

11 MR. HILL: Objection, argumentative. The witness can  
12 respond.

13 A. I don't know that people hearing that statement had  
14 a specific idea of what Arafat was referring to.  
15 I don't know.

16 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

17 Q. I mean, marching to Jerusalem, that does -- suggests an  
18 act of belligerence; right?

19 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

20 A. Jerusalem is also a symbolic center of Palestinian  
21 nationalism. It has long been regarded as the hoped-for  
22 capital of the future independent Palestinian state. So  
23 in a statement like that -- again, not knowing the rest  
24 of the context -- this reads to me like a nationalist  
25 statement of appreciation for people who are willing to

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1 die or be killed in the service of achieving Palestinian  
2 nationalist independence.

3 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

4 Q. The people that you just described includes people who  
5 died committing acts of violence against Israeli  
6 civilians; right?

7 A. They were labeled martyrs as well, yes.

8 Q. All right. Let's give you some context; let's see if we  
9 can find a video of Arafat leading the "million martyrs  
10 to Jerusalem" chant.

11 (Video played.)

12 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

13 Q. Does that give you any context for whether "millions of  
14 martyrs marching to Jerusalem" is respect for those who  
15 died versus incitement to belligerent violence?

16 A. It gives me further understanding of the fact that there  
17 seems to be a statement of nationalist enthusiasm and  
18 pride for the cause of liberation from occupation, and  
19 potentially a future state with Jerusalem as its  
20 capital, because this is a standard Palestinian  
21 nationalist goal.

22 Martyrs are not people -- the term "martyr" does not  
23 refer to people specifically who have or will commit any  
24 kind of violence; it's not a specific reference to  
25 people who commit violence that would be categorized as

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1 terrorism. Martyrs are also people who -- the term  
2 would also be used to refer to somebody who has died  
3 committing what the UN would regard as an  
4 internationally recognized right of resistance to  
5 a belligerent military occupation.

6 Q. So you keep saying the UN recognizes a right of military  
7 resistance, or something like that; I don't -- I don't  
8 want to argue with you about that. You're not a --  
9 you're not expressing any opinions on the legality of  
10 what went on in the Second Intifada, are you?

11 A. What I'm referring to is the fact that Palestinians  
12 understand that they have an internationally recognized  
13 right to use violence in the cause of seeking liberation  
14 from occupation.

15 Q. Do you -- you saw that that video, "Millions of martyrs  
16 marching to Jerusalem," was August of 2002; did you see  
17 that?

18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

19 A. According to the translation subtitles.

20 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

21 Q. Right. Do you have a sense as to how many attacks on  
22 civilians in Jerusalem took place in the 18 months  
23 leading up to August 2002?

24 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

25 A. No.

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1 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

2 Q. More than 50?

3 MR. HILL: Same objection.

4 A. I don't know.

5 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

6 Q. Well, we have Pape to thank for this; Pape can give  
7 us -- Pape can give us the suicide bombings.

8 Do you have Pape in front of you?

9 If I can find him. Do you have Pape?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. You see at the end of our little excerpt, he's got  
12 "Campaign Number 17" in his book, a little table of the  
13 suicide bombings against Israeli civilians --

14 A. I see that.

15 Q. -- during the Al-Aqsa Intifada. You see that; right?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Pape lists 63 suicide bombings in Israel in the months  
18 leading up to August of 2002; right?

19 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

20 A. I haven't added up the numbers that he has in the  
21 "Killed" column from October till August.

22 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

23 Q. Right; I'm just looking at the number of incidents. Do  
24 you see he's got each --

25 A. I see.

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1 Q. -- incident numbered separately?

2 A. I understand. I understand.

3 Q. And he's tallied up 63 incidents --

4 A. Okay.

5 Q. -- with -- and then he's got -- sometimes zero are  
6 killed, sometimes 1, 2, 11, 28, 17, 19; right? You see  
7 that?

8 A. Yes, I see that.

9 Q. All right. So I want you to put yourself back in  
10 New York City -- you lived in New York City; right?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And I want you to imagine that over the course of less  
13 than two years, there were 63 suicide bombings in  
14 New York City. You with me?

15 A. I'm hearing you.

16 Q. Okay. And I want you to imagine that the person leading  
17 the nation of individuals who are committing the suicide  
18 terrorism chant "A million martyrs marching to  
19 Manhattan." You with me?

20 A. I'm hearing you.

21 Q. Okay. Would you perceive that as incitement of violence  
22 against citizens of Manhattan?

23 MR. HILL: Objection, improper hypothetical, lack of  
24 foundation. The witness can respond.

25 A. Manhattan is not analogous to a situation of belligerent

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1 military occupation, as it is in the Occupied

2 Territories. And the term "martyr" does not -- is not  
3 part of typical contemporary discourse, to the best of  
4 my knowledge, in today's Manhattan. So your  
5 hypothetical is very difficult to -- to pursue.

6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

7 Q. You -- you can't understand how people hearing  
8 "A million martyrs marching to Jerusalem" could perceive  
9 that as incitement to violence against civilians?  
10 That's just -- that doesn't compute for you?

11 MR. HILL: Objection, argumentative, compound, asked and  
12 answered. The witness can respond again.

13 A. As I said, the term "martyr" does not refer to  
14 specifically people committing violence, whether  
15 internationally condoned or not. As I have explained,  
16 generally, the term is understood in Palestinian society  
17 as referring to anyone who is deemed to have died as  
18 a result of the occupation.

19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

20 Q. Do you think it's okay for young children to be taught  
21 that martyrdom is sweet?

22 MR. HILL: Objection, vague, lack of foundation. The  
23 witness can respond.

24 A. I think that in a nationalist context, where "martyrdom"  
25 refers to people who are deemed to have sacrificed their

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1 lives, intentionally or not, for a nationalist cause of  
2 liberation from occupation, it makes sense to me that  
3 the value of self-sacrifice, or the willingness to -- to  
4 be steadfast and endure the effects of occupation, it  
5 makes sense to me that people of all ages would come to  
6 appreciate those values.

7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

8 Q. Do you think 11-year-olds come to those values on their  
9 own?

10 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

11 A. I don't believe that anyone comes to any values on their  
12 own.

13 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

14 Q. Do you think that an 11-year-old who thinks it's natural  
15 to below herself up amongst civilians is -- is  
16 expressing views taught to her by others?

17 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

18 A. I think that children and young people living in  
19 a situation of a belligerent military occupation learn  
20 about -- learn about the nationalist struggle for  
21 independence from a variety of means, or come to the  
22 conclusion that the occupation must be resisted -- they  
23 come to the conclusion for a variety of reasons,  
24 including seeing on a day-to-day basis and living in  
25 conditions of extreme oppression and lack of freedom.

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1 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

2 Q. Did -- do you think it's okay for the Palestinian  
3 Authority to put on television a program showing  
4 11-year-old children encouraging others to blow  
5 themselves up?

6 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

7 A. I don't know of a Palestinian Authority program that did  
8 this.

9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

10 Q. Maybe I can help you out. Do you want to see one?

11 A. I can follow your hypothetical.

12 Q. Let's watch the video together.

13 A. As you wish.

14 (Video played.)

15 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

16 Q. Where do you think an 11-year-old learns that Shihada is  
17 beautiful?

18 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

19 A. I think that in a context of occupation, and nationalist  
20 struggle against that occupation, in which the term  
21 "Shihada" refers to people who die or are killed as  
22 a result of that situation, people living in a context  
23 of -- people living in this context learn from the  
24 context, and they learn from -- they learn from  
25 a variety of sources about what nationalist values are.

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1 And the value of resistance to occupation is,  
2 I think, a natural value for people living in conditions  
3 of extreme hardship, oppression and lack of freedom.  
4 The fact that so many people came to believe that death  
5 was better than living in those conditions is, I think,  
6 an indication of how horrific those conditions were.

7 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

8 Q. You don't -- and it's your opinion that the leadership  
9 of the Palestinian Authority and the PLO had nothing to  
10 do with the social value that martyrdom is sweet and  
11 it's natural to blow yourself up? Is that your -- is  
12 that your opinion?

13 MR. HILL: Objection, lack of foundation.

14 A. I think that the value of martyrdom and self-sacrifice  
15 in the way of national liberation has been one that has  
16 existed in Palestinian society for decades. I believe  
17 that that value is partly a legacy of long-term  
18 nationalist struggle and a legacy of decades of life  
19 under an occupation.

20 I think that the values that came to permeate  
21 Palestinian society, especially during the Second  
22 Intifada, were -- I mean, I don't think about values as  
23 being a product or created by specific individuals or  
24 organizations; values are things that people learn about  
25 or come to have in specific contexts.

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1 So in answer to your question, I don't -- I don't  
2 see the PA as being responsible for people upholding  
3 those values.

4 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

5 Q. Do you agree with the values expressed by those  
6 11-year-old children?

7 A. I don't know what you mean by "agree." I personally do  
8 not hold the view that death is sweet, but I can  
9 understand why people living in the situation they were  
10 living in came to hold that view. I think it's sad that  
11 children of whatever age came to feel that way.

12 Q. I heard it's not sad; I heard it's child abuse. Do you  
13 agree with that?

14 MR. HILL: Objection, argumentative. The witness can  
15 respond.

16 A. You're asking me if I agree that it's child abuse that  
17 children are raised in a situation of extreme violence  
18 from an Israeli occupation?

19 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

20 Q. No, I'm not asking that.

21 A. What are you asking?

22 Q. I'm asking, do you think it's child abuse to teach your  
23 children that death is sweet and that they should blow  
24 themselves up amongst civilians?

25 MR. HILL: Same objection.

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1 A. I believe that when children came to the conclusion that  
2 it's hypothetically a good idea to die, or be killed, or  
3 kill, that they come to this view as a result of the  
4 extreme conditions of life under a relentlessly stifling  
5 occupation.

6 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

7 Q. Let me show you a document we've marked as Allen 20.  
8 (Exhibit 20 marked for identification.)

9 BY MR. YALOWITZ:

10 Q. This is an article you wrote; right?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. It's about suicide bombers and martyrs in Palestine;  
13 right?

14 A. It's about Palestinian views of Palestinian suicide  
15 bombers and martyrs.

16 Q. If you turn with me to the last paragraph of your  
17 article.

Do you have that before you?

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. The last two sentences of your article read:

21 "A common observation here is that Israeli  
22 occupation can kill anyone, anytime, whether you're  
23 sitting at home watching TV, or out shooting at  
24 settlements. At least suicide bombers go out fighting."

25 Do you see that?

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1 A. Yes.  
 2 Q. You wrote that; right?  
 3 A. I wrote that.  
 4 Q. Why did you write "at least suicide bombers go out  
 5 fighting"?  
 6 A. Because that's the view of Palestinians who often in  
 7 conversations with people, and they're trying to explain  
 8 to me their -- their support for suicide bombings, one  
 9 of the -- the reasons they could support these kinds of  
 10 acts is because they felt like at least these people are  
 11 not dying randomly, sitting at home; they are dying  
 12 doing something active. And in the view of some of  
 13 these people, they thought that this was a way to -- to  
 14 cause a change.  
 15 Q. I mean, don't you think that's incredibly misguided, to  
 16 think that at least you're going out fighting if you  
 17 blow yourself up amongst civilians?  
 18 A. I do think that it -- I wouldn't say -- I don't know if  
 19 "misguided" is the word that I would use. I would say  
 20 that -- that it's horrible and sad that people live in  
 21 a situation such that they get to this point, where --  
 22 where they would feel that way or act on that feeling.  
 23 MR. YALOWITZ: Let's pause for a few minutes. I think we  
 24 might be finished.  
 25 (5:01 p.m.)

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1 (A break was taken.)  
 2 (5:08 p.m.)  
 3 MR. YALOWITZ: Okay, we've taken a short break, and  
 4 I don't have any further questions. So unless your  
 5 counsel wants to ask you questions, I think we're  
 6 finished.  
 7 MR. HILL: I don't have any questions for Dr. Allen at this  
 8 time. She will read and sign.  
 9 By my accounting, we're just over six hours on the  
 10 record, so -- can you prepare for six and a half to  
 11 seven?  
 12 MR. YALOWITZ: No, we'll do six.  
 13 MR. HILL: Six it is.  
 14 MR. YALOWITZ: You're always rounding up.  
 15 MR. HILL: Off the record.  
 16 (5:09 p.m.)  
 17 (Whereupon the deposition concluded.)  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25

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## CERTIFICATE OF DEPONENT

1  
 2  
 3 I, DR. LORI ALLEN, hereby certify that I have read the foregoing  
 4 pages of my deposition of testimony taken in these  
 5 proceedings on Tuesday, November 19, 2013, and, with the  
 6 exception of the changes listed on the next page and/or  
 7 corrections, if any, find them to be a true and accurate  
 8 transcription thereof.  
 9

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: DR. LORI ALLEN

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18 Signed and subscribed to before me  
 19 this \_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 2013.  
 20 \_\_\_\_\_

NOTARY PUBLIC

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## CERTIFICATE OF COURT REPORTER

1  
 2  
 3 I, FIONA FARSON, with TransPerfect Legal Solutions, hereby  
 4 certify that the testimony of the witness Lori Allen in the  
 5 foregoing transcript, taken on Tuesday, November 19, 2013  
 6 was recorded by me in machine shorthand and was thereafter  
 7 transcribed by me; and that the foregoing transcript is a  
 8 true and accurate verbatim record of the said testimony.  
 9

10 I further certify that I am not a relative, employee,  
 11 counsel or financially involved with any of the parties to  
 12 the within cause, nor am I an employee or relative of any  
 13 counsel for the parties, nor am I in any way interested in  
 14 the outcome of the within cause.  
 15

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

FIONA FARSON

Dated: Tuesday, November 19, 2013





<b>A</b>				
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